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Sobek – der Krokodilgott

Eine Skulptur in Stockholm

Bengt Peterson

In den Jahren 1966 bis 1969 wurden wiederholt archäologische Untersuchungen in Dahamsha, südlich von Hermonthis, vorgenommen¹. Als man einen neuen Kanal durch das kleine Dorf zu graben begann, wurden Überreste von einem Heiligtum, dem Krokodilgott Sobek gewidmet, ja sogar das Bassin, wo das heilige Krokodil gelebt hatte, entdeckt. Mehrere sowohl königliche als private Skulpturen und Reliefs des Neuen Reichs wurden gefunden, die durch ihre Qualität und Eigenart zusammen eine wichtige Gruppe von einem bisher unbekannten Kultplatz ausmachen. Die besten von ihnen sind jetzt im Luxor Museum ausgestellt². In den Inschriften dieser Votivskulpturen und Reliefs findet man vor allem die einfachen und schlichten Gebete einzelner Menschen an Sobek, damit er ewiglich Lebensunterhalt, Glück und Wohlergehen ihnen spenden sollte. In den Fällen, wo Titel der Personen ihre Herkunft andeuten, ist diese Theben, die nicht weit entfernte Hauptstadt.

Schon von den griechischen und römischen Verfassern besonders erwähnt, waren Fayum und Theben die grossen Kultzentren des Krokodilgottes³. Für Theben aber ist es schwierig gewesen, topographische Evidenz für den Kultus zu finden. In Theben selbst – Ost und West – findet man keine dem Sobek gewidmeten Heiligtümer. Alte Quellen erzählen vom Fund von Krokodilmumien in Theben-West ohne genauere Lokalisierung als Assasif⁴. Aber Inschriften, vor allem auf Monumenten in Theben gefunden, die Sobek erwähnen, deuten an, dass ein Kultus dort nicht unwahrscheinlich gewesen ist; die wenigen Belege sind von Ch. Kuentz gesammelt⁵. Sogar findet man die Epitheta *ḥꜥm wꜣst*, „Der in Theben erscheint“ sowie *nb wꜣst*, „Herr von Theben“⁶. Aber das geläufige Epitheton Sobeks ist *nb smnw*, „Herr von Sumenu“. Seit langem ist es ganz klar, dass dieser Ort, dessen

Lage irgendwo südlich von Theben war, das Zentrum von Sobeks Kult innerhalb der thebanischen Region war. Die exakte Lokalisierung dieser Ortschaft, wahrscheinlich bei Gebelein, und deren Identifizierung mit dem antiken Krokodilopolis ist nicht völlig gelungen; das Problem ist vor allem von A. H. Gardiner diskutiert worden⁷. Die neuen Funde, in deren Inschriften Sobek als *nb smnw* vorkommt, können es vielleicht möglich machen, schliesslich diese geographische Unklarheit zu lösen; ist Dahamsha vielleicht der Platz von Sobeks Hauptheiligtum?

Das Krokodil Sobek war geehrt und gefürchtet. Man sieht es in den inschriftlichen Belegen⁸, nicht zuletzt in den ihm gewidmeten Hymnen, die auf verschiedenen Papyrushandschriften vom Mittleren Reich an bewahrt sind⁹. Er wurde an andere Götter assimiliert, vor allem an Re. Als Sobek-Re ist er der mächtigste Gott, der den Menschen alles schenken kann. Das Nahen des einzelnen Menschen an ihn kann durch Votivopfer bei seinem Tempel geschehen, z.B. durch ein Bild des Gottes mit einer Dedikationsinschrift. Bei einer Neuerwerbung des Medelhavsmuseet kann man als ein schönes Beispiel beobachten, wie ein niedriger Beamter um des Gottes Gunst wirbt.

Durch eine Deposition von der Königlichen Antiquitätsakademie (Kgl Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien) besitzt das Museum eine Krokodilskulptur mit einer Widmungsinschrift¹⁰. Sie ist aus Kalkstein gemacht: auf einer ungefähr rektangulären Basis steht das Krokodil mit etwas gebogenem Schwanz. Die Skulptur ist eine stilisierte Darstellung mit einigen naturalistischen Details wie Zähnen, Augen, Ohren sowie Panzer auf den Hinterpartien der Beine. Unter dem erhobenen Kopf ist das Tier nicht frei skulptiert, ein Rest des Kalksteinsblockes ist stehen gelassen, eins dieser archaischen Details ägyptischer Skulpturen,





sen Ramesseum in Theben-West, war¹⁴. W. Helck hat in seinem „Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches“ die Belege für das Personal dieses Tempels zusammengetragen. Man findet da noch zwei Personen mit demselben Titel¹⁵; eine dritte, die nicht bei Helck erscheint, ist von einer Uschebtifigur in Rouen bekannt¹⁶.

Diese Rindervorsteher waren natürliche Glieder in einer umfassenden Verwaltung eines grossen Totentempels¹⁷. Man kann nicht ohne weiteres annehmen, dass Personen mit diesem Titel in Theben wohnhaft waren, da sie prinzipiell auch anderswo im Land tätig sein konnten; besonders bei den Verwaltern der Viehherden mit Weiden im Delta könnte dies der Fall sein, dass sie ausserhalb Thebens sasssen. Es ist aber wahrscheinlich, dass die Vorsteher der verschiedenen Verwaltungseinheiten oft in den thebanischen Tempelbüros wirksam waren.

Bei der Zugehörigkeit Pa-nefers zu der Verwaltung des Ramesseums kann man den Tod Ramses' II. als frühestes Datum für ihn ansetzen, also 1224. Man kann annehmen, dass die Verwaltung des grossen Tempels wesentlich länger in Betrieb war, als es der Fall war mit der weniger bedeutender Herrscher. Der Tempel wird mehrmals während der 20. Dynastie erwähnt¹⁸, unter Ramses VII. und Ramses IX. – u.a.

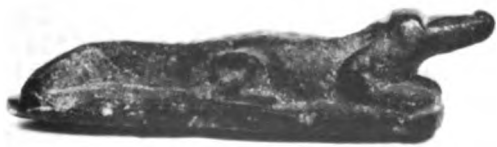
wegen grosser Diebstähle wertvoller Inventarien – weshalb man sich eine betriebsstüchtige Verwaltung bis etwa 1100–1050 denken könnte. Dann ist der Tempel wohl verlassen worden. Innerhalb dieser Zeitspanne – also 1200 bis 1050 – muss man sich die Datierung von Pa-nefer und seinem Krokodil denken.

Mit dem thebanischen Hintergrund des Krokodilkultus, der oben skizziert wurde, ist es annehmbar, dass Pa-nefer sich an ein Heiligtum des Sobek in der thebanischen Region gewendet hat. Aber davon wissen wir nichts. Er kann auch aus irgendeinem Grund das Krokodil einem Tempel, wo immer es auch in Ägypten sei, überwiesen haben¹⁹. Man kann auch nicht feststellen, dass seine Amtskollegen Sobek besonders verehrt hätten; auf den Monumenten des Personals des Ramesseums gibt es keine anderen Belege für eine Widmung an Sobek.

Diese Krokodilskulptur war kein geläufiges Votivgeschenk. Nur sehr wenige Skulpturen des Sobek, in welchen der Gott theriomorph erscheint, sind erhalten. Eine in Turin²⁰ – jedoch von ungewisser Datierung – und eine im Luxor Museum von Dahamsha, die in die 18.–19. Dynastie datiert wird²¹, sind die einzigen, die man sonst dem Neuen Reich zuschreiben kann. Die Tradition ist aber lang. Von der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit gibt es Beispiele: mehrere in Rom²² und eins in



Paris²³, das letztere mit einer griechischen Votivinschrift. In kleinerer Grösse gibt es jedoch – wenn auch verhältnismässig selten – Votivkrokodile aus verschiedenem Material, z.B. Fayence²⁴ oder Bronze²⁵, in kleinster Grösse ja auch als Amulette²⁶. Als Schluss soll hier eine kleine Steinskulptur von ungewisser Datierung im Medelhavsmuseet erwähnt werden: ein Krokodil aus Steatit, das in seinem kleinen Format – Länge 11 cm – und mit seiner summarischen Ausführung jedoch das Vermögen der ägyptischen Skulpturkunst, das Essentielle zu treffen, besitzt²⁷. Als Parallele sei auf ein kleines Kalksteinkrokodil in Kopenhagen hingewiesen²⁸.



¹ H. S. K. Bakry, The Discovery of a Temple of Sobk in Upper Egypt, MDAIK 27, 1971, 131 ff.

² The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, Catalogue, Cairo 1979, Nr. 52, 107, 123, 206, 212, 218.

³ Vor allem Herodot II, 96.

⁴ Cf. Th. Hopfner, Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter, Wien 1913, 128, Anm. Einzelne auch in Karnak, cf. P. Bargaet, Le temple d'Amon-Rê, Kairo 1962, 185, Anm. 5, 295, Anm. 4.

⁵ Ch. Kuentz, Quelques monuments du culte de Sobk, BIFAO 28, 1929, 113 ff, bes. 154 ff. Ein weiteres Beispiel: Karnak-Nord IV, Kairo 1954, 139 ff.

⁶ G. Legrain, Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers II, CGC, Kairo 1909, Nr. 42169; A. H. Gardiner, Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum Papyrus, RdÉ 11, 1957, 43 ff, bes. 47. Cf. C. Dolzani, Il dio Sobk, Rom 1961, 230 (Lincei – Mem. Scienze morali – 1961 – Ser. VIII, vol. X, 4).

⁷ A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica II, Oxford 1947, 21 & 274 f. Cf. P. Bucher, Les hymnes à Sobk-Ra, Kêmi I, 1928, 41 f; P. Montet, Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne II, Paris 1961, 72 f.

⁸ Allgemein, Th. Hopfner, op.cit., 125 ff; H. Kees, in Pauly-Wissowa, Realenc. s.v. Suchos; G. Roeder, in Roscher, Lex. d. Myth., s.v. Sobk; H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, s.v. Suchos; C. Dolzani, op.cit.; Lexikon der Ägyptologie, s.v. Krokodil, Bd. III, 791 ff., Krokodilskulte, Bd. III, 801 ff.

⁹ P. Bucher, op.cit.; A. H. Gardiner, op.cit., RdÉ 11, 1957;

G. Botti, La glorificazione di Sobk e del Fayyum in un papiro ieratico da Tebtynis, Kopenhagen 1959.

¹⁰ MME 1977:1. L. 55 cm, H. 20.5 cm, Br. 14.5 cm. Früher in deutschem Besitz. Ausgestellt im Folkwang-Museum, Essen, 1966: Zeugnisse altägyptischer Kultur aus europäischem Privatbesitz, Katalog Nr. 9, Abb. 4. Name und Titel der Inschrift zitiert in W. Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches VI, Mainz 1969, 70 (1014). Abgebildet in Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens Historiska Museer, Årsbok 1976–77, Stockholm 1977, 120.

¹¹ Das *n* in der Verbindung von Titel und Amtsstelle hier ist sehr oft in ähnlichen Verbindungen ein *m*.

¹² H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, Glückstadt 1935, 113:1.

¹³ Bei dem Titel hier hat man das *t* vor *ḥwt* weggelassen, dann auch eine Abkürzung *ḥwt* für den vollen Namen des Tempels verwendet.

¹⁴ Cf. W. Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches I, Mainz 1961, 79 (861) & 103 (885) ff.

¹⁵ Ibidem, 106 (888). Ihre Monumente sind: U. Bouriant, Petits monuments et petits textes recueillis en Égypte, Rec. Trav. IX, 1887, 90; W. M. F. Petrie, Abydos I, London 1902, pl. 67.

¹⁶ V. Loret, Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités de

Rouen, Rec. Trav. II, 1880, 151.

¹⁷ Cf. W. Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, Leiden 1958, 175 f.

¹⁸ W. Helck, Materialien I, 103 (885) f.

¹⁹ Von den drei anderen bekannten Rindervorstehern des Ramesseums sind zwei von Monumenten aus Abydos bekannt, cf. oben Anm. 15.

²⁰ C. Dolzani, op.cit., 205 und Taf. 9.

²¹ Catalogue, Nr. 206.

²² G. Botti–P. Romanelli, Le sculpture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatikan 1951, Nr. 183–185; S. Bosticco, Musei capitolini, I monumenti egizi, Rom 1952, Taf. 10.

²³ G. Legrain, Collection H. Hoffman, Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes, Paris 1894, Taf. 17.

²⁴ H. Wallis, Egyptian Ceramic Art, The MacGregor Collection, London 1898, Taf. 19.

²⁵ G. Roeder, Ägyptische Bronzefiguren, Berlin 1956, 408.

²⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, Amulets, London 1914, Taf. 41; R. H. Blanchard, Handbook of Egyptian Gods and Mummy Amulets, Kairo 1909, Taf. 31.

²⁷ MM 19257. Herkunft unbekannt. L. 11 cm, H. 2.6 cm, Br. 2.9 cm.

²⁸ M. Mogensen, La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La collection égyptienne, Kopenhagen 1930, A 418, Taf. 56.

The Water Supply of a Desert Village

Jac. J. Janssen

In his publication of the "Bildostraka" preserved in the Medelhavsmuseet¹ Peterson briefly describes a small flake of limestone with the drawing of a man's head. On the other side,² the stone bears a hieratic text in black and red which is said to contain "eine Liste von Häusern und Einwohnern von Deir el Medineh". This reminds us of the register of houses and their inhabitants on papyrus fragments in the Museo Egizio in Turin discussed by Botti in 1922.³ If another similar list had been preserved it would be an important addition to our knowledge about the settlement of necropolis workmen.⁴ We shall see that this is not the case, however.

The text on the ostrakon⁵ consists of two columns, of which both the top and the bottom are incomplete. Moreover, the beginnings of some lines of col. I are lost since a flake is broken off on the right-hand side, and on the left-hand side only half of the lines of col. II have been preserved. The loss of the beginning of the text is particularly unfortunate since it may have contained a date and an explanation of its purpose. As the matter stands, we can only attempt to interpret the text from its contents.

So far as it is preserved the writing, in a cursive hand, is fairly clear.⁶ Its decipherment presents few problems, the more so since the text consists almost completely of a list of names of workmen, about whom abundant material is available. The translation, if a list of names may thus be called, runs so:

Col. I

1. [House of] Nebamentē ^a	1/4(?) ^b <i>khar</i>
2. House of Amennakhte, son of Dydj	1/2 <i>khar</i>
3. House of Mose ^c	1/2 <i>khar</i>
4. House of Psheddu, son of Harmose	1/2 <i>khar</i>
5. House of Karo	1/2 ^d <i>khar</i>

6. [House of] Psheddu, son of Ḥah[nekh] ^e	1/4 <i>khar</i>
7. [House of] ... ^f	1/4 <i>khar</i>
8. [House of] ... ^g , son of Sibe	1/2 <i>khar</i>
9. [House of] ...te, son of Ma ^h u ^o	1/2 <i>khar</i>
10. [House of] ...opē ^h	1/2 <i>khar</i>
11. [House of] Amenemonē	1/4 <i>khar</i>
12. [House of] Dḥutiḥim ^e aktef	1/4 <i>khar</i>
13. [House of] Ḥeria ⁱ	1/4 <i>khar</i>
14. ...	

Col. II

1. ...
2. ...
3. House of ...
4. House of M^e...
5. House of P...
6. House of Ka[sa] ...^k
7. House of Penamūn^k ...
8. House of Ipy ...
9. House of Ra^hub[en]^k ...
10. House of Sennedjem ...
11. House of Ēre[nūfe]^k ...
12. House of Wenenkhu ...
13. House of P...
14. House of T (?) ...

^a This reading I owe to Černý's transcription.

^b Only one point has been preserved; whether a second above it is lost is uncertain but possible.

^c The faint oblique stroke over the determinative may actually belong to the original text (see note 5).

^d Two points are probable.

^e The horizontal stroke under the vertical is quite unusual in the writing of this name.

^f Černý suggested, with question marks, a name ending on ...s3.



^o For Černý's reading "*Ḳn* (prob.)" I cannot see sufficient traces. I do not know a *Ḳen*, son of *Sibe*.

^a Amenemopē or Kha'emopē?

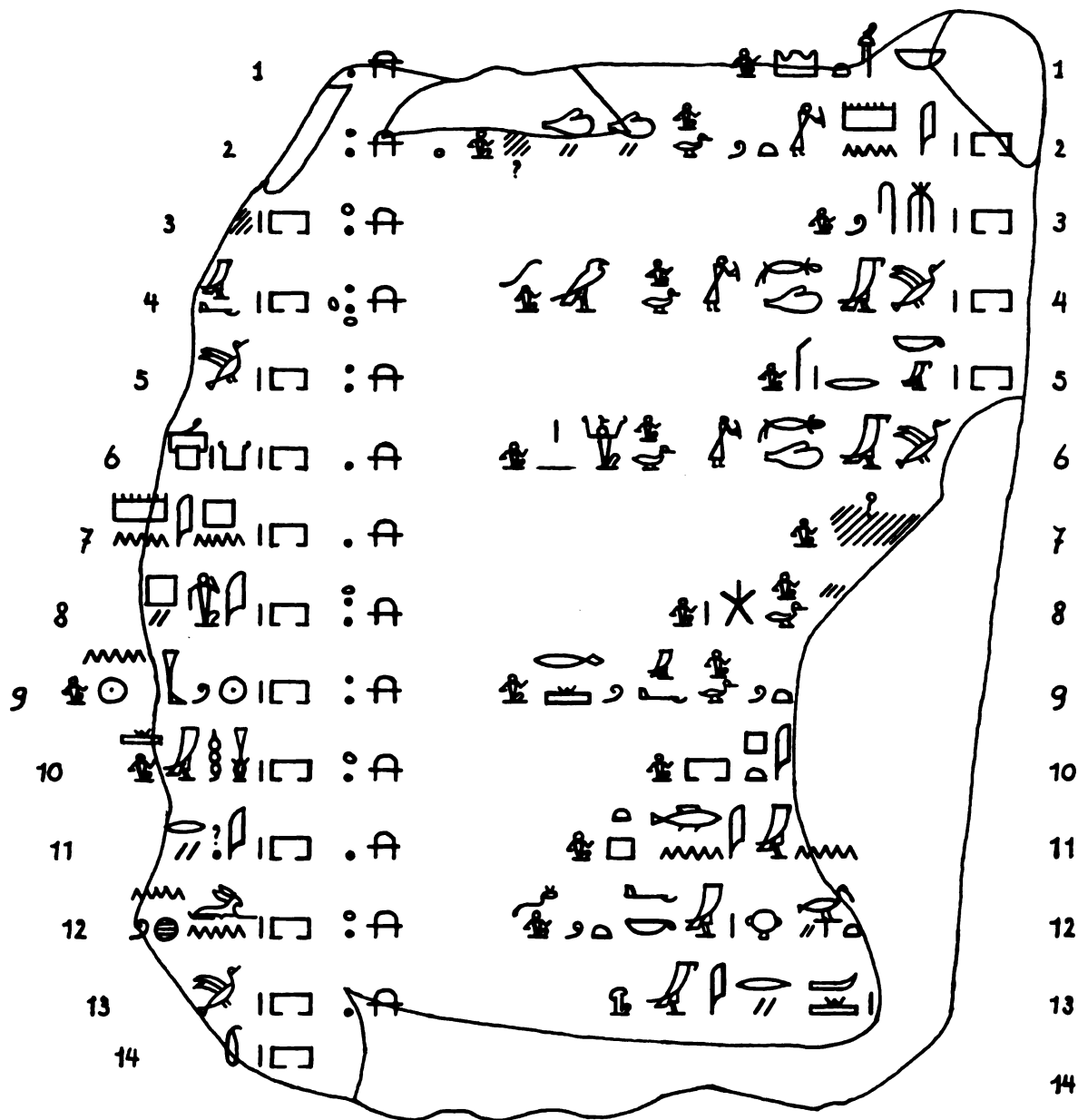
ⁱ The only female name in the text.

^k The restorations are almost certain.

For the interpretation of the text the occurrence of red points (indicated in the transcription as small circles) poses a problem. Since they are not discernible on the photograph I owe the knowledge of their exact place to the kind information of Dr. Peterson. It is obvious that they cannot be part of the text proper. The point in I, 2 comes before the *khar*-sign. In I, 4 there are two red points, or rather blots: one after the quantity, indicated by two black points, and one just below it. In I, 8 the

red point is placed above two black ones. The red points in I, 10 and I, 12, which by themselves could be additions to the single black ones, very probably have the same meaning as the others. They look to be diacritical signs, perhaps indicating that the entry has been checked. Compare, for instance, O. DeM. 373 (see the facsimile of O. DeM. 188).

The names as far as they are legible are all known from other ostraca, except that of Ma'u'o in I, 9. Some, indeed, are so well known that a few signs suffice for their restoration (see note *k*). The father of Pshedu (I, 6) is called Ḥaḥnekh, usually – as here – abbreviated to *Hḥ*. The writing of the female name *Hwry*ḏ (I, 13) is not known to me from elsewhere, but *ḥ* is common.⁷



More problematical than the names is the date of the ostrakon. The terminus post quem is the moment that the youngest of the people enumerated here became the principal occupant of a house in the village.⁸ That moment does not necessarily coincide with the earliest mention we have of him, however. A workman's name may have already occurred in a text before he became the head of a family, while, on the other hand, it may be that by chance the oldest text mentioning his name

dates from a substantially later period. We do not possess so many ostraca from the early and middle XIXth Dynasty, so that the latter possibility is not unlikely. An additional difficulty is the custom in the workmen's community to call a son after his grandfather, so that the same combination of names for father and son may occur more than once within a century.

Of the men listed in O. MM. 14126 the youngest one

may be Pshedu, the son of Ḥaḥnekh (I, 6), the earliest dated mention of whom that I know of is from the reign of the usurper Amenmesse (O. Cairo 25782, 10, from the year 3). Perhaps, however, O. Michaelides 13⁹ (dated in a year 2), where he occurs in vs. 1, can be ascribed to the reign of Merenptah.¹⁰ Another workman of whom I know no dated mention before the time of Amenmesse is Raḥuben (II, 9), but O. DeM. 216, where he is mentioned together with a Penamūn (II, 7), may be slightly older. Penamūn, if he was the son of Baki,¹¹ occurs i.a. in years 64 and 66 of Ramesses II (O. DeM. 621, 4; O. Cairo 25237, 6–7).

Other persons are definitely older, not only the fathers, of whom that is self-evident, but also the owners of the houses themselves. Dḥutiḥimʿaktef (I, 12), for instance, is to be dated to the early years of Ramesses II since, as Černý noticed,¹² his son Huy is already attested as a scribe by the year 37 of that Pharaoh.

Nevertheless, if one compares the names of the house-owners with those listed in O. Brit. Mus. 5634 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 83–84), a complete survey of the active workmen in the year 40 of Ramesses II, it appears that not a single one definitely occurs there, names such as Amennakhte being too common to identify its bearer positively. Together with the evidence of Pshedu the son of Ḥaḥnekh cited above, it indicates that the ostraca dates from the later reigns of the XIXth Dynasty.

The fact that a few persons such as Dḥutiḥimʿaktef (I, 12) or Sennedjem (II, 10) may have been very old or already deceased does not affect the validity of the suggestion. It is a common thing all over the world that the names of the occupants of houses tend to adhere to them years after the death of their bearers.¹³ For – and this is the major point – this text is not a house-register proper.¹⁴

After each house is noted a quantity expressed in *khar*, a common measure of capacity during the New Kingdom (1 *khar* = 76.88 litres). In most ostraca where it occurs it indicates a quantity of grain, and at first view one would be inclined to suppose that this is the case in the present text too. However, grain in the workmen's community was always delivered to persons, a rule to which I know not a single exception. Grain was part of the workmen's rations (or wages), and these were of course delivered to wherever the workman happened to live. It seems hardly possible, therefore, that in our text quantities of grain were meant.

The *khar* also occurs as a measure for gypsum used by the workmen for plastering the walls of the royal tombs,¹⁵ but, although they would have used it in their

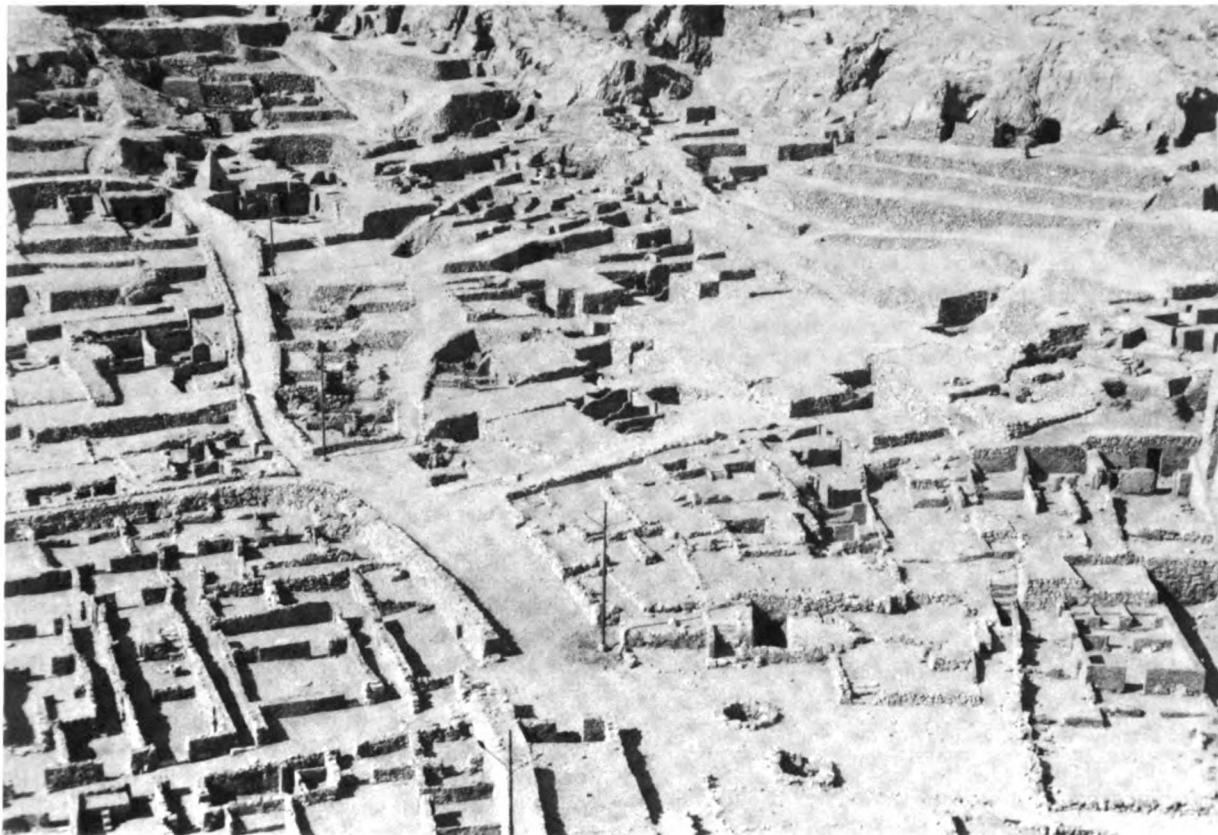
own houses – the walls of which were plastered too – it is unlikely that so many houses would have received quantities of gypsum at the same time.

The third use of the *khar* recorded in the ostraca is that of a measure of water, and that is what may have been meant here. The village of the necropolis workmen was situated in the Western Desert, in a valley roughly parallel to the Nile and at some distance from the flood-plain. There was not a single well in the area. Therefore, a special category of personnel called water-carriers (*lnw-mw*) was attached to the community to provide its members with this indispensable commodity.¹⁶ The water-carriers were relatively poor; the donkeys they used for their trips up and down from the nearest well in the flood-plain – probably near the Ramesseum – were usually hired from the workmen, who were well-to-do and could afford to keep animals.¹⁷ Numerous ostraca tell us about litigations arising from this sort of situation, e.g. when the water-carrier did not return the animal on time or when it died while in his care.¹⁸

How many water-carriers there were in the service of the community we do not know for sure. One text lists the names of five of them and of one chief at one time,¹⁹ and of six others at another moment in the same year.²⁰ Two months later a promise was made to raise the number to twenty-four,²¹ but it seems to have been a sop to the workmen who were striking at that time. Possibly the regular number may seldom have been attained.

Helck has argued²² that the daily rent charged for a donkey was $\frac{1}{2}$ *oipē* (= $\frac{1}{8}$ *khar*) of grain, and unpublished texts confirm this.²³ In order to be able to pay it the water-carrier must have earned wages, but nothing is known about this. However, this much is certain, the workmen's community did not pay for its supply of water; it formed part of the rations issued to them.

It is not clear how much water a workman and his family was entitled to receive each day. From O. Petrie 34 vs. (= *Hier. Ostr.* 29, 1) Helck has drawn the conclusion that a person (or a family ?) received 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar* daily, that is, nearly 100 litres.²⁴ However, the meaning of the text is far from clear. Helck quoted only vs. 3: "He has given to me no water during 12 days, that is, 15 *khar* of water"; but the rest of the text escapes my understanding. The figures 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *oipē* and $\frac{3}{4}$ *oipē* (line 2) and 2 *oipē* (line 5) can in no way be reduced to 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*. On the other hand, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar* (line 4) could mean 21 times 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar* and 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar* (bottom) 9



A view of Deir el-Medina with the round cistern in front of the gate

times $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *khar*, thus indicating the rations of 21 and of 9 days. The record of $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *khar* for a single day in line 4 also strengthens Helck's suggestion.

But other texts at least do not confirm this. In three ostraca deficiencies in the water supply are recorded, and the quantities mentioned are mostly $1 \frac{1}{4}$, in a few instances $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *khar*,²⁵ in others less. In one ostrakon, O. DeM. 391, a considerably higher deficiency is recorded, namely 9 *khar* for each of four persons; it is even stated which particular water-carrier was responsible for it. However, that this quantity was delivered short for one single day seems unlikely,²⁶ whereas in the three texts referred to above such is indeed the case. This may be confirmed by the words of O. DeM. 60: "What Neferhotpe said on III *pri* 22", after which follows the information that two persons did not receive their $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, while smaller deficiencies are recorded for three others, one of whom was a female slave. The conclusion that the rations of all workmen were not equal, for some $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *khar* daily,

for others $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *khar*, and perhaps still less for others, looks to be most in accordance with our evidence. I note in passing that in all these texts the recipient is a person, not a house.

More documents concerning the delivery of water in Deir el-Medina may have been preserved, but they are difficult to recognize since this is not explicitly stated. Use of the *khar* measure may equally well mean that they refer to grain rations. In O. DeM. 652, for instance, a number of names are each followed by a number of *khar*; a note in the left-hand corner of the ostrakon, " $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *khar*", does suggest that here water was meant. The same holds true for O. DeM. 661, where in several, but not in all entries $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *khar* occurs. In a similar document, O. DeM. 370, recording only quantities of $1 \frac{1}{4}$ and $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, the last name is that of a water-carrier, which one would not expect to find in a record of water deliveries. Therefore, it is more probable that grain issues are recorded here, like in so many texts of this type.²⁷ Generally, *khar* being

first and foremost a grain measure,²⁸ when no specific commodity is stated the most likely interpretation will be that the quantities expressed in *khar* represent grain. These problems with which several ostraca present us, did not exist for the scribes of the workmen's community themselves who of course did know the purport of their sketchy notes.

Returning to O. MM. 14126, how do we have to conceive of its "Sitz im Leben"? It records water deliveries to a number of houses. Do we have to imagine that a water-carrier, going through the street from house to house, poured out a fixed quantity for each of the housewives, like our milkman? The street of Deir el-Medīna, actually in some parts no wider than an alley, would have hardly allowed for the passage of a loaded donkey; and from what we know about customs in the village it looks unlikely that the officially appointed water-carriers brought their supplies to the doorsteps. If this had been the case, one would expect to find the houses enumerated in the order in which they are situated along the street. Now, our knowledge about the inhabitants of the various houses during the XIXth Dynasty is rather scanty, but what we do know does not confirm this supposition. Very probably Wenenkhu (II, 12) lived in the house numbered by the excavator as N.W.9,²⁹ and indeed Ērenūfe, mentioned in the preceding line (II, 11), may have been his neighbour in N.W.10.³⁰ But Sennedjem (II, 10) is known to have lived in the extreme S.W. corner of the village, in house S.W.6.³¹ It may be of course that he previously had had another house, but for that there is no evidence.

It looks more probable that O. MM. 14126 is simply a document from the administration, as all other ostraca quoted above, in which the names are arranged accidentally at the whim of the scribe, or in the order in which they occurred in an (unknown) administrative register. The water would have been poured out by the water-carriers into the cistern that can still be seen in the middle of the small square just outside the gate of the village. From there the women would have got their daily supplies,³² carrying it in jars on their head to their houses, as they still do in that region up to our own day.

Although the last passage is quite speculative, O. MM. 14126 contains information which, combined with that from other texts, presents a picture of one aspect of the daily life in an ancient Egyptian village some thirteen centuries B.C.



Modern water supply at Deir el-Medīna

¹ Bengt E. J. Peterson, *Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt*, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 7-8 (1973). For O. MM. 14126 (No. 17), see p. 73 and pl. 9. Its measurements are 8.3 × 13.2 cm.

² Whether one calls it recto or verso is arbitrary. Unless there is a continuous text on both sides of an ostrakon – in which case it is self-evident that the side where the text begins is called the recto – the choice is open.

³ Rendeconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, stor. e filol., serie V, vol. 31 (Roma, 1922), 391-394.

⁴ The list of houses in Pap. Brit. Mus. 10068 vs. (cf. Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 14-16 and p. 93 ff.) does not include the houses of Deir el-Medīna. It is called "town register of the West of the City" (**dmī n ḫmwt nīwt*). Whether the term **dmī* was also used for the Turin House-Register is unknown.

⁵ It may or may not be a palimpsest. Particularly in I, 3 the photograph seems to show traces that are so vague that they may have belonged to an earlier text. Neither Černý nor Peterson mention the point.

⁶ For the permission to make use of a transcription from one of the notebooks of Černý (Ntb. 108, p. 31) I express my sincere thanks to the Board of the Griffith Institute, and particularly to Miss Helen Murray who kindly made me a xerox copy.

⁷ Cf. *O. Cairo 25662*, 6.

⁸ The word *pr* occurring in every line indicates a house in the village itself, an official residence of a workman. Houses outside the village, either elsewhere in the valley of Deir el-Medīna, in the Valley of the Kings, or in that of the Queens, or wherever else in the area, are called *ḫt*. Cf. *JESHO* 11 (1968), 160.

⁹ Goedicke-Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides* (Wiesbaden, 1962), pl. 46-47.

¹⁰ See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 85. Bierbrier, *JSSEA* 8 (1977), 36, came to the same conclusion.

¹¹ Cf. Černý, *Workmen*, 292.

¹² *Op.cit.*, 249, note 3.

¹³ For an instance from the workmen's community, see *op.cit.*, 229, note 7.

¹⁴ Neither is the laundry list of O. DeM. 258 a house-register, although it enumerates the houses from which the washermen took the dirty garments. Cf. *Commodity Prices*, 258.

¹⁵ Černý, *The Valley of the Kings*, chapter 4. For the *khar*, see p. 37.

¹⁶ I know of only one text which records that the workmen themselves carried water, namely O. DeM. 154 (to be dated to year 31 of Ramesses III). In line 5 (the entry for II šmw 19) we read: "One ordered them to carry water." Note that the 19th (like the 9th and the 29th) of a month was always a free day. A reason for this exceptional event is not given.

¹⁷ Cf. *Commodity Prices*, 533 ff. For the frequent occurrence of donkeys in sale contracts, see p. 167 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Bernadette Menu, *CRIPEL* 1 (1973), 93 ff. and Allam, *Hier. Ostraka und Papyri* (Tübingen, 1973), *passim*.

¹⁹ Pap. Turin 1880, vs. 3, 5–11 (= *RAD* 46, 9–15).

²⁰ *Idem*, vs. 1, 1–7 (= *RAD* 45, 1–7). For the problem posed by the occurrence of two lists in one year, see Černý, *Workmen*, 187 f.

²¹ Pap. Turin 1880, vs. 2, 8 ff. (= *RAD* 49, 4 ff.).

²² *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* III, 495.

²³ O. AG. 55 (i.e., a fragmentary ostrakon formerly belonging to Sir Alan Gardiner) and O. Gardiner 260.

²⁴ *Materialien* V, 846.

²⁵ O. Brit. Mus. 5635 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 87, 1), O. Gardiner 116 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 64, 3) and O. DeM. 60.

²⁶ Still higher quantities occur in Pap. Turin 1880 vs. 6, 6–14 (= *RAD* 51, 5–13). They are mostly $8\frac{3}{4}$, $12\frac{1}{2}$ or even $17\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, which may mean 7, 10 or 14 times $1\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*, that is – supposing that $1\frac{1}{4}$ *khar* was indeed the daily ration – rations for 7, 10 or 14 days.

²⁷ E.g., O. DeM. 414 rt., where the amounts of $5\frac{1}{2}$ *khar* (the monthly grain ration) indicate that grain was meant, or O. DeM. 611 (amounts 1 and 2 *khar*), where grain is explicitly mentioned. See also O. DeM. 189, where $1\frac{1}{4}$ *khar* occurs in some entries.

²⁸ The word *oipē* (*lpt*), used for a quarter of a *khar*, actually is the name of the container with which grain was measured.

²⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934–1935). Troisième partie, Le Caire, 1939, 283.

³⁰ *Op.cit.*, 285.

³¹ *Op.cit.*, 330 ff.

³² The water was intended for drinking, preparing food, washing the dishes and themselves. Neither washing garments nor making pottery, activities which require a great deal of water, and which usually do occur in a village, were done in Deir el-Medīna itself. For these activities there were attached to the community special washermen and potters who carried out their activities elsewhere, probably near the river.

Ein Text der Ptolemäerzeit über das Dasein in Unterwelt und Grab

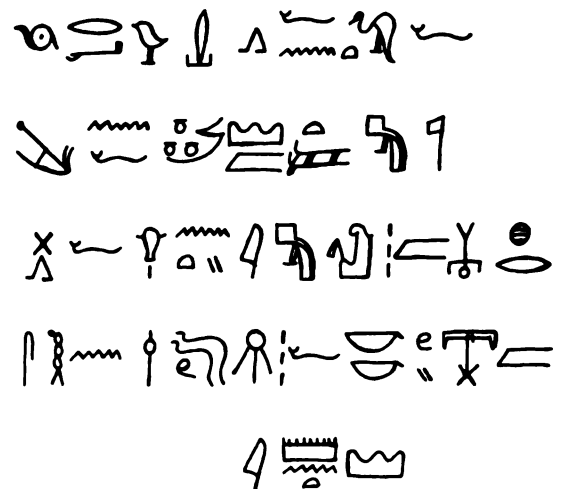
Beate George

Im Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm befindet sich die Mumie eines Mannes wohl aus der Ptolemäerzeit namens Nesuaiu (*ns wꜥjw*) mitsamt der Mumienkartonnage und zwei anthropoiden Holzsärgen. Als Geschenk G. Anastasis kamen diese Mumie und ihre Ausrüstung 1826 nach Schweden. Sie gehören dem Nationalmuseum und tragen die Inventarnummern NME 5 (Mumie und sie umschliessende Kartonnage), NME 6 (der innere Holzsarg) und NME 7 (der äussere Holzsarg). Wilkinson hat sie erwähnt und gibt als Fundort Theben, näher „the hill of Piccinini's house“ an¹. Demselben Manne gehörten möglicherweise auch eine Stele und eine Statuette des Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, die sich beide im British Museum befinden². Hier soll vor allem die dreizeilige Inschrift mitten auf der Aussenseite des Deckels des inneren Sarges³ näher betrachtet werden.

Oben zu beiden Seiten der drei Zeilen befinden sich die vier Horussöhne und Isis und Nephthys. Auf dem Fussteil sind, vom Betrachter aus auf den Kopf gestellt, zwei liegende Schakale, mit dem Namen Upuaut und je einem *sh*-Zeichen versehen, dargestellt. Sie symbolisieren die Grenzen der Welt, den Ort des Auf- und Unterganges der Sonne. Zwischen dem Inschriftsfeld und dem breiten Perlenhalskragen mit Pektoralen ist ein geflügelter Skarabäus mit einer Sonnenscheibe wiedergegeben, der verjüngte, erneuerte Sonnengott, dessen Schicksal der Tote nachvollzieht. Betrachtet man den Sarg als ganzen, so deutet auch die goldene Farbe des Antlitzes auf seine Assimilation an den Sonnengott, während die mumienförmige Gestalt an Osiris erinnert: Nesuaiu ist als Osiris-Re, als Gestorbener und Auferstandener dargestellt. Dieselbe Thematik hat auch die Inschrift zum Inhalt, die ein Konzentrat aus den Vorstellungen der für den König bestimmten Unterweltbücher des

Neuen Reiches ist und Res Eintritt in die Unterwelt und sein Wirken für die Toten dort schildert. Andere Särge dieser Zeit tragen oft Totenbuchkapitel 72⁴. Der Text ist bereits in drei Varianten bekannt: von einem anthropoiden Kalksteinsarkophag der Ptolemäerzeit aus Assiut, von einem Holzsarg wohl der 30. Dynastie aus Qau⁵ und von einem Granitsarkophag persisch-ptolemäischer Zeit aus Sakkara⁶. Die klar aufgebaute und gegliederte Inschrift lässt sich in zwei Hauptabschnitte einteilen: in vier Doppelzeilen wird der Eintritt des Sonnengottes in die Unterwelt und sein Wirken für alle Toten dort beschrieben, der Rest des Textes präzisiert dann in vier weiteren Zeilen Res Handeln für Nesuaiu speziell und schliesst mit Versicherungen für seine ungestörte Fortdauer im Grabe.

Der Wortlaut des Textes ist:



A black and white photograph of an ancient Egyptian wooden coffin. The coffin is tall and narrow, with a large, detailed face carved into the upper section. The face has large eyes, a straight nose, and full lips. Below the face is a large, ornate collar (wesekh) decorated with hieroglyphs and a central circular motif. The lower part of the coffin is covered in vertical columns of hieroglyphs. The wood appears dark and aged.

Re, er geht zu seiner Mutter,
 nachdem er das Westgebirge durchzogen hat als Atum.
 Er geht vorbei an denen, die sich dort auf dem Kopf
 befinden,
 nachdem sein Licht die Dunkelheit im Westen beseitigt
 hat.
 Er begibt sich in die Nähe der Westlichen,
 nachdem er die die Oberseite ihres Kopfes (?) Er-
 hebenden⁷ aufgeweckt hat mit seinen Strahlen
 Er ruft den in ihren Höhlen Befindlichen zu,
 nachdem er die Schlafenden aufgerichtet hat, die auf
 ihrer Seite liegen.
 Er hebt deinen Hals hoch, um seinen Ba zu preisen.
 Er streckt deinen Rücken, um seine Erscheinungs-
 formen zu erhöhen.
 Er vertreibt die Dunkelheit gegenüber von deiner
 (Grab)stätte⁸.
 Er vereint deinen Ba mit den seligen Toten.
 (Dein)⁹ Leichnam dauert im schönen Westen,
 er ist empfangen unter die Gelobten.
 Der Himmel und Erde erschaffen hat befindet sich
 über dir¹⁰.
 Nicht wird der Sand entfernt über deinem Grabe in
 Ewigkeit,
 Osiris Nesuiau, der Gerechtfertigte, geboren von
 Takerheb, der Gerechtfertigten.



Re geht in Nuts Arme ein, Theben Grab 296

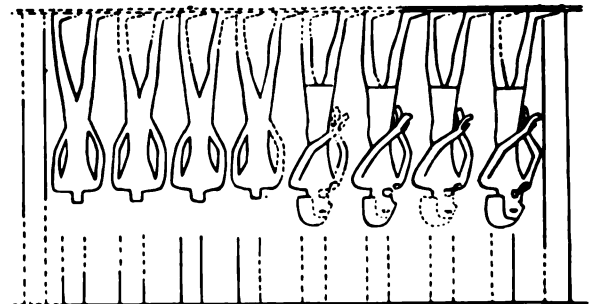
Res Mutter ist Nut, die Himmelsgöttin, in deren Arme er nachts versinkt oder in deren Mund er eingeht. Als die, welche Re täglich neu gebiert, wird Nut schon in den Pyramidentexten (1688) erwähnt. Als Göttin des nächtlich-unterweltlichen Gegenhimmels kann sie auch Nenet (*nn.t*) heissen, so etwa in einem Sonnengesang, in dem vom Sonnengott gesagt wird: „Du steigst hinab in die Arme deiner Mutter Nenet“¹¹. Diese Szene ist wiederholt in Gräbern und auf Totenbuchpapyri dargestellt worden¹².

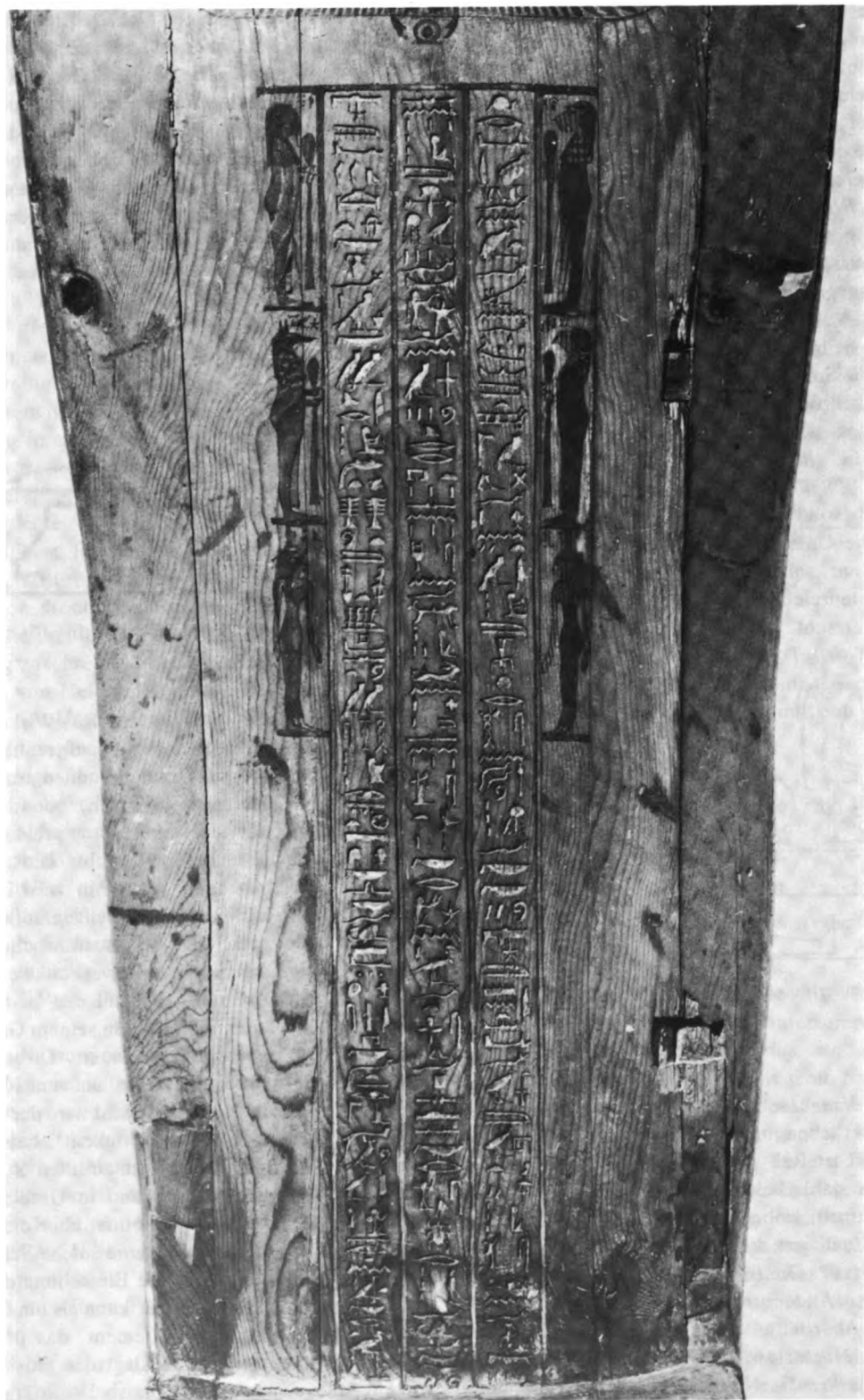
Auch der Eintritt ins Westgebirge ist eine seit altersher wohlbekannte Vorstellung. Die Götter, die mit diesem „Manu“ genannten Orte verbunden sind, sind oft Horus¹³ und auch Atum. An dieser Grenze zwischen Oberwelt und Unterwelt, zwischen Tag und Nacht wird der Sonnengott als sterbensmüder Greis häufig widderköpfig dargestellt und Atum genannt¹⁴.

Nach dieser Schilderung des Eintrittes folgt die Beschreibung von Res Weg durch das Totenreich. Zunächst geht er vorbei an denen, die auf den Kopf gestellt sind. Dieses Schicksal ist zu allen Zeiten gefürchtet worden, wie aus Pyramidentexten, Sargtexten und Totenbuch hervorgeht¹⁵. In Totenbuchkapitel 101 bit-

tet der Tote z.B.: „O Re in diesem deinem Namen Re, wenn du vorbeiziehst an jenen dort, die auf den Kopf gestellt sind, so sollst du Osiris NN auf seine Füße stellen.“ Hiernach und auch nach Nesuaius Text scheint das auf dem Kopfe Stehen als allgemeines Los aller Toten gedacht zu sein; in der Unterwelt herrschen umgekehrte Zustände wie auf Erden. Nur solange Re sich bei ihnen befindet, ändert sich dies:

Die auf den Kopf Gestellten, Höhlenbuch, 3. Abteilung

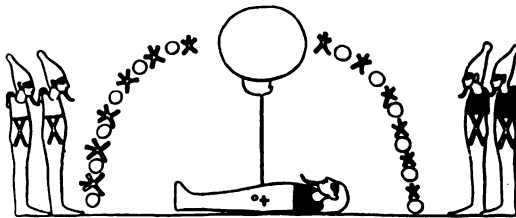




man steht auf den Füßen wie ein lebender Mensch, und das Sonnenlicht vertreibt die Dunkelheit. Nach anderen Totentexten wie Amduat und Pfortenbuch jedoch ist es eine spezielle, nie aufhörende Strafe für Übeltäter, auf den Kopf gestellt zu werden, wie die Inschriften zu derartigen Bildern besagen¹⁶.

Als zweite Gruppe von Bewohnern des Totenreiches werden die Westlichen genannt. Dies kann eine Bezeichnung für alle Toten überhaupt sein, wie ihr Herrscher Osiris auch „Erster der Westlichen“, Chontamenti, genannt wird¹⁷. Nach ausführlicheren Texten empfangen diese Westlichen die Sonnenscheibe auf ihren Armen beim Eintritt in die Unterwelt, und sie ziehen auch die Sonnenbarke über sandige Partien, wo sie sonst steckenbleiben würde¹⁸.

Im folgenden wird die Auferweckung der Toten geschildert, die einer Wiederholung der Schöpfung gleichkommt. Zwei Aspekte des Schöpfergottes sind hierbei von besonderer Bedeutung: sein Licht und sein Wort. Die Unterweltsbücher lassen deutlich erkennen, dass nur, solange Re in einer bestimmten Abteilung des Totenreiches weilt, dort auch Licht und damit Leben herrscht. Sobald er weiterzieht, kehren Nacht, Schlaf und Tod zurück. Die Wiederbelebung des Leichnams ist manchmal bildlich dargestellt, indem Strahlen der Sonnenscheibe in ihn eindringen¹⁹.

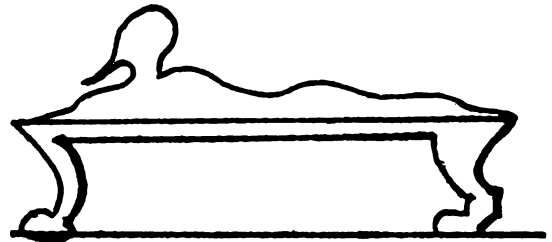


Die Wiederbelebung durch das Licht. Höhlenbuch, 3. Abteilung

Damit ist die Voraussetzung gegeben, dass der Tote sein Gesicht erheben und wieder sehen kann. Von ähnlicher Kraft ist Res Wort. Aus dem Amduat sind viele Beispiele dafür bekannt, dass er die Toten anredet, ihnen zuruft, wobei der Inhalt seiner Rede sich unmittelbar aktualisiert, d.h. sofort Leben oder bei Feinden Tod bewirkt²⁰. Die in ihren Höhlen Befindlichen sind die einzige Andeutung in diesem Text, dass die Unterwelt in Abschnitte eingeteilt ist; entsprechend der Anzahl der Nachtstunden handelt es sich meist um zwölf. Ähnlich wie die Nekropole in Gräber ist das

Totenreich in verschiedene Gebiete unterteilt, die der Sonnengott nacheinander im Laufe der Nacht besucht.

Genauso wie die auf den Kopf Gestellten die normale Position auf den Füßen wieder einnehmen, so werden auch die Schlafenden geweckt und aufgerichtet. Das gradweise Erwachen und langsame sich Erheben, wobei zunächst nur der Kopf nach oben gewendet ist, ist im Pfortenbuch im Bilde festgehalten worden²¹. In diesem Zusammenhang sagt Re im Amduat: „Steht auf, weicht nicht zurück, streckt euch aus, seid nicht müde“²².



Einer der sich Aufrichtenden, Pfortenbuch, 8. Stunde

Nach diesem Textabschnitt, der Res Wirken für alle Toten zum Inhalt hat, wird nun aufgezählt, was er speziell für Nesuaiu tut. Um den Sonnengott in seinen verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen, von denen hier nur der Ba besonders erwähnt wird, preisen und erhöhen zu können, müssen Nesuaius Hals und sein Rücken aufgerichtet sein. Weiterhin wird ihm Licht und ein Dasein als Ba unter den Seligen zugesichert²³. Für den Ba bedeutet dies, wie ausführlichere Texte schildern, freie, ungehinderte Beweglichkeit in Unterwelt, Erde und Himmel, während der Leichnam an seinem Platz im Totenreich, d.h. in seinem Grabe, verweilt und dort unversehrt fortdauert. Dieser Unverletzlichkeit der Grabstätte wird auf ungewöhnliche Weise Nachdruck verliehen: „Nicht wird der Sand entfernt über deinem Grabe in Ewigkeit“, heisst es. In Frieden im Grabe zu ruhen, ist zu allen Zeiten eine Hauptangelegenheit gewesen und in Grabinschriften unendlich häufig bezeugt. Selten ist aber die Vorstellung, dass Sand offensichtlich eine solche Schutzfunktion ausüben könnte. Denn die Einstellung der Ägypter zum Sand ist ambivalent. Er kann als ein Hindernis aufgefasst werden, als ein Element, das überwältigt und spurlos verschluckt. So klagt der grosse Sphinx von Gizeh dem späteren Thutmosis IV im Traume sein

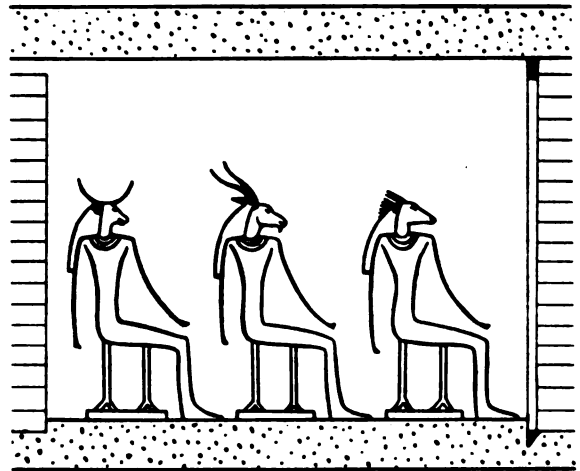
Leid: „Mir naht der Sand dieser Wüste, auf welcher ich mich befinde“, und bittet darum, freigeschaufelt zu werden²⁴. Dasselbe kann auch für die Toten gelten. Ins Grab mitgegebene Schutzsymbole sollen nach Totenbuchkapitel 151, 54 den Sand daran hindern, das Verborgene zu versperren. Ganz klar zieht sich der Abscheu vor dem Sand, der das Gesicht des Toten bedeckt, von den Pyramidentexten durch Sargtexte und Totenbuch: in Pyr. 735 ermahnt der opfernde Sohn den Toten, seinen Staub abzuschütteln²⁵; CT I 71a und sein Nachfolger Tb 169, 57 verheissen, dass ausser den Schrecken des Gerichtes und der Verdammnis dem Toten auch erspart werden soll, Sand aufs Gesicht gelegt zu bekommen. Dies mag eine Vorstellung sein, die auf den Brauch zurückgeht, die Toten ohne richtiges Grab direkt in einer Grube in der Wüste beizusetzen, wie es in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit allgemein üblich und auch in der pharaonischen Epoche für breite Bevölkerungsschichten das einzig Erschwingliche war.

Neben dieser Furcht vor dem ungebändigten Element der Wüste, das Menschen und Denkmäler zu verschlingen droht, findet sich auch eine andere Bewertung, die ihm in Kult und Mythologie symbolische Bedeutung zuschreibt. Ein Sandhügel ist es z.B. nach der Lehre von Heliopolis, der bei der Welterschöpfung zuerst aus den Urgewässern aufsteigt. Er ist somit das Urbild der neugeschaffenen, dem Chaos entstiegene Erde, das sich überall und jederzeit im Kult wieder aktualisieren lässt. So befindet sich der Tempel von Heliopolis auf einem „hohen Sand“ (šꜥj kꜣ) ²⁶, und bei jeder Tempelgründung wird in die Fundamentgräben Sand geschüttet, um das Heiligtum mit dem Ursprung der Schöpfung in Verbindung zu setzen²⁷. Dieser Kontakt mit dem Element Sand hat dank seiner Uranfänglichkeit erneuernde und lebenspendende Kraft, aus der sowohl im Götter- als auch im Totenkult Nutzen gezogen wird.

Im Mundöffnungsritual, das die Belebung von Statuen und Mumien zum Zwecke hat, wird der zu behandelnde Gegenstand auf Sand gestellt²⁸, und auch zu balsamierende Apisstiere werden auf Sand gelegt²⁹. Eine Wiederherstellung des Urzustandes wird durch die Reinigung des Toten mit Wasser und Sand vollzogen (Pyr. 1425), und auch Göttern wird Sand dargebracht (Tb 28, 11) bzw. ausgeschüttet wie z.B. im täglichen Tempelritual³⁰, wenn das fertig geschmückte Götterbild an seinen Platz in der Kapelle zurückgestellt wird.

„Sand“ hat aber in den Jenseitvorstellungen noch eine viel umfassendere Bedeutung. So wie der Ur-

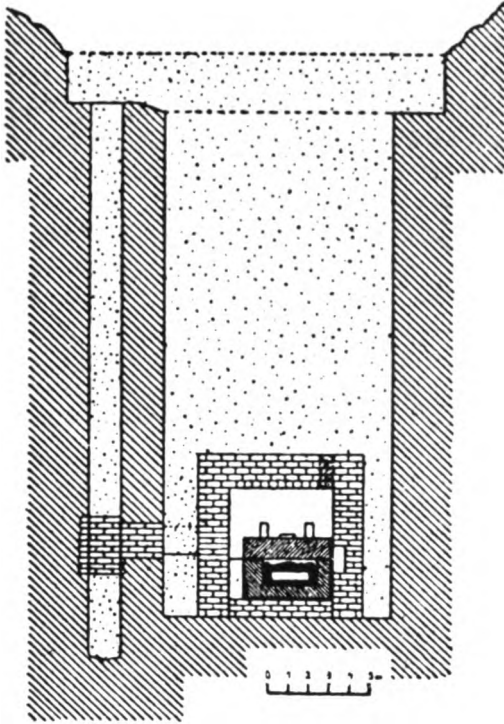
hügel aus Sand die ganze geschaffene Erde meint, so ist „grosser Sand“ (šꜥj ꜥꜣ) eine Bezeichnung für die Unterwelt³¹. Im Amduat ist der Teil, der „Sokarland“ benannt ist, besonders als ein Sandgebiet charakterisiert, sowie auch Sokar selbst oftmals das Epitheton „der auf seinem Sand ist“ trägt³². Abgesehen davon, dass die Nekropolen, die sichtbare Form der Unterwelt, aus praktischen Gründen in der Wüste angelegt worden sind, spielt auch hier die bewahrende und erneuernde Funktion des Sandes eine Rolle. Besonders aufschlussreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang die 8. Amduatstunde. Hier betritt Re die Höhlen der geheimen Götter, die auf ihrem Sande sind, von denen ausführlicher gesagt wird: „ihre leiblichen Bilder (ššm.w) bleiben über ihren Leichnamen (hꜣ.wt), die unter ihrem Sande sind“³³. Hier wird das komplizierte Problem der



Die Götter, die auf ihrem Sande sind, Amduat, 8. Stunde

mannigfachen Aspekte und Gestalten der menschlichen Persönlichkeit und deren unterschiedliche Schicksale im Jenseits gestreift: einige sind freibeweglich (Ba, Schatten), andere sind ans Grab bzw. die Unterwelt gebunden, wobei sichtbare Aspekte – wie hier die ššm.w n ꝓ.t-sn – und verborgene – hꜣ.wt – unterschieden werden können. In diesem Zusammenhang dürfte Nesuarius Text zu verstehen sein, in dem der Sand das Grab und damit den Leichnam schützen und bewahren soll. Auch diese Aussage könnte somit mit der Thematik der Unterweltbücher verknüpft werden.

Der bewahrende und erneuernde Aspekt des Sandes spiegelt sich aber nicht nur in Texten wider, sondern hat auch auf die Bestattungsgebräuche der Spätzeit vor allem in Sakkara Einfluss ausgeübt. Gräber der Saiten-



Das Grab des Padinisi, Sakkara, Zeit des Amasis

und Perserzeit in der Umgebung der Pyramide des Unas³⁴ und des Userkaf³⁵ haben gewaltige senkrechte Schächte, auf deren Boden in oft mehr als 20 Meter Tiefe eine Grabkammer mit Sarkophag konstruiert

worden ist. Der ganze Schacht wurde dann mit Sand ausgefüllt. Die Mumie wurde durch einen schmalen Schacht neben dem grossen beigesetzt, der danach ebenfalls mit Sand gefüllt wurde. Wenn Grabräuber sich durch den kleineren Schacht Zugang zur Grabkammer zu erzwingen versuchten und den Verschluss zwischen beiden Schächten erbrachen, so rutschten ihnen die Sandmassen des grossen Schachtes entgegen und hinderten sie am weiteren Vordringen oder erschwerten es jedenfalls sehr³⁶. Oben auf dem Schacht kann eine Totenkultstelle, wohl eine kleine Kapelle, angenommen werden³⁷, in der einer Statue des Verstorbenen geopfert wurde und zu der nach ägyptischer Vorstellung auch freibewegliche Erscheinungsformen des Toten zu Besuch kamen, so dass also hier das Bild aus der 8. Stunde des Amduat aktualisiert wäre: im Schacht unter dem Sande ruht der Leichnam, und oben darüber wird das leibliche Abbild im Opferkulte immer aufs neue mit Leben versehen. Trotz der räumlichen Entfernung – Nesuaius Grab dürfte sich wohl in Theben mit seinen anderen Grabtraditionen befunden haben, woher seine Mumie und Grabausrüstung laut Angabe ja stammen sollen, – und trotz des zeitlichen Abstandes von den unterägyptischen Grabanlagen, darf wohl auch in Nesuaius Fall angenommen werden, dass er sich in ähnlicher Weise, wie das Amduat es beschreibt und die Sakkara-Gräber es verdeutlichen, die schützende und erneuernde Funktion des Sandes erhoffte, wenn schon nicht tatsächlich, so doch magisch. Hierfür könnte auch das Vorkommen desselben Textes in Assiut und Qau sprechen.

¹ MSS V 170: cf. Porter & Moss I:II 832.

² BM 8468 und 9737: H. de Meulenaere, *Recherches onomastiques*, Kêmi 16, 1968, 28 ff, bes. 31.

³ Dieser Sarg ist abgebildet in V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, mumiekister, og mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten*, København 1919, 225 Nr. 1299; M.-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, København 1959, 159, Fig. 87; Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 5000 år egyptisk konst, Stockholm 1961, Nr. 167.

⁴ Z.B. München ÄS 31: Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst, München 1976, 166 f; Ostberlin Nr. 46: L. Kákosy, *Ein Sarkophag aus der Ptolemäerzeit im Berliner Ägyptischen Museum*, FS zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Berlin 1974, 113 ff.

⁵ Für beide: G. Daressy, *Sarcophage ptolémaïque d'Assiout*, ASAE 17, 1917, 95 f.

⁶ G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque I*, Le Caire 1914, CGC 29 301. Diese Texte sind zum Vergleich herangezogen und an einer Stelle bei der Übersetzung bevorzugt worden (cf. Anm. 9).

⁷ Zu *hr.w* cf. WB III 142, 11 und 13–14. Var. Maspero, op.cit., 11: *ntjw jm*, die Dortigen.

⁸ Var.: Daressy, op.cit., 95 f: *štj.t-k* bzw. Maspero, op.cit., 11: *št.t-f*, Grab des Sokar-Osiris.

⁹ *h.t-k* hat Maspero, ibid.

¹⁰ Der Schluss lautet bei Maspero, ibid.: „der Himmel und Erde erschaffen hat befindet sich über deinem Grabe in Ewigkeit.“

¹¹ H. Schäfer, *Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne*, ZÄS 71, 1935, 15 ff, bes. 33.

¹² Ibid., Abb. 10–14.

¹³ Zu Horus cf. H. Bonnet, RÄRG s.v. Manu.

¹⁴ Ibid. 730; Amduat 1. Stunde Mittelregister.

¹⁵ Belege bei J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, New York 1977, 75 ff.

¹⁶ Ibid. 78, Anm. 3–5.

¹⁷ Ibid. 235.

¹⁸ Amduat 4. und 5. Stunde: das sog. Sokarland.

¹⁹ Das Buch von der Erde: z.B. E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, Zürich-München 1972, 430, Abb. 83.

²⁰ Id., *Das Amduat I*, Wiesbaden 1963, 46, 5.

²¹ Pfortenbuch 7. Stunde, unteres Register: z.B. Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, 264, Abb. 47.

²² Amduat I 114, 8 ff.

²³ Zum Ba cf. E. M. Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes „b3“ anhand der Überlieferung der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*, Freiburg 1968 und L. V. Zábkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, Chicago 1968.

²⁴ A. Erman, *Die Sphinxstele*, KPAW, Berlin 1904, 428 ff, bes. 435 f: Z. 11.

²⁵ *hmnw* (WB III 277), nicht *šš* ist hier verwendet.

²⁶ Der Name ist belegt auf der Pianchiste: *Urkunden III*, 38; H. Ricke, *Der „Hohe Sand in Heliopolis“*, ZÄS 71, 1935, 107 ff; Bonnet, RÄRG s.v. Urhügel.

²⁷ F. W. v. Bissing–H. Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures I*, ABAW 1922, 10; auch Bonnet, RÄRG s.v. Gründungszeremonien.

²⁸ E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual II*, Wiesbaden 1960, 34, 35, 36.

²⁹ W. Spiegelberg, *Ein Bruchstück des Bestattungsrituals der Apisstiere*, ZÄS 56, 1920, 1 ff: X1; XIII 17.

³⁰ A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, Paris 1902, 200 ff.

³¹ A. Piankoff, *Le livre des Quererts*, BIFAO 42, 1944, pl. XLII, II.

³² Amduat Einleitung zur 4. und 5. Stunde und wiederholt in der 5. Stunde: „Sokar, der auf seinem Sande ist“: cf. Hornung, Amduat I, 63, 64, 75, 76, 85, 90, 91, 93, 95.

³³ Ibid., 134 bzw. 142.

³⁴ Cf. A. Barsanti *Berichte in ASAE* 1, 1900, 230 ff; 2, 1901, 97 ff; 5, 1904, 69 ff und die erste der in Pisa erscheinenden Monographien E. Bresciani–S. Pernigotti–M. P. Giangeri Silvis, *La tomba di Ciennehebu, capo della flotta del re*, Pisa 1977.

³⁵ C. M. Firth, *Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara*, ASAE 29, 1929, 64 ff; Z. Y. Saad, *Preliminary Report on the Royal Excavations at Saqqara 1941–1942*, ASAE 41, 1942, 381 ff; É. Drioton–J. P. Lauer, *Fouilles à Saqqarah*, ASAE 51, 1951, 469 ff; J. P. Lauer, *La structure de la tombe de Hor à Saqqarah*, ASAE 52, 1952, 133 ff.

³⁶ So erging es auch den Ausgräbern beim Grabe des Neferibresaneith: cf. Firth, op.cit., 68 f.

³⁷ A. Hermann, *Führer durch die Altertümer von Memphis und Sakkara*, Berlin 1938, 147 f.

An Attic Late Geometric Horse Pyxis

Berit Wells

In 1934 the Papastratos brothers presented to the crown prince of Sweden, later King Gustaf VI Adolf, a Geometric horse pyxis said to come from Liopesi on the eastern slopes of the Hymettos. The pyxis was exhibited at the National Museum in Stockholm in 1967, an exhibition with artifacts from the Greek and Roman world in honor of the King.¹ Together with several other objects, the pyxis was then bequeathed to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities and was incorporated into its collection in 1974.

Horse pyxis MM 1974:7 (G VI A 126).² H. with lid 20.2 cm. H. without lid 7.7 cm. D. of rim 23.8 cm. D. of base 24 cm. Figs. 1–5.

In excellent state of preservation and complete except for tail of left horse.

Pale micaceous fabric with calcium inclusions and a few brown grit. Brownish red to brownish black paint, worn off in a few places. The wall profile of the bowl is slightly curved; and so is the bottom which, however, on the underside turns concave towards the outer edge to form a false ring base. The horizontal edge of the rim and the lid have two pairs of corresponding tie holes. On the domed lid stand three plastic horses with long slender necks; under the central horse there is a central hole. The pyxis wall is horizontally divided into two decorative zones by encircling bands; the narrower zone has a continuous row of tangential large dots with smaller dots on either side of the tangents; the broader zone displays a triglyph-and-metope decoration consisting of vertical rectangles of double chevrons flanking a checkerboard panel and alternating with metopes with hatched swastikas; between the arms of the swastikas occur tangential circles with central dots and, once again, dots on either side of the tangents. The underside of the pyxis is divided by triple encircl-

ing bands into three zones around a central cross with alternating one and two dots between the arms. The two inner zones have dotted wavy lines, and the outer zone shows groups of thirteen strokes each.

The lid has three decorative zones divided by triple bands: the inner zone is dotted, the middle one has alternating hooked swastikas and groups of thirteen vertical zigzags, and the outer zone consists of groups of thirteen short strokes and crossed diagonal lines. On the painted horses, there are lines, dots, and tangential dots on their heads, muzzles, throats, and along their manes, backs, and tails which represent harness and reins. The exergues both in front of the horses and behind them have central groups of thirteen strokes flanked by groups of thirteen vertical zigzags.

Fig. 1 Underside of horse pyxis MM 1974:7

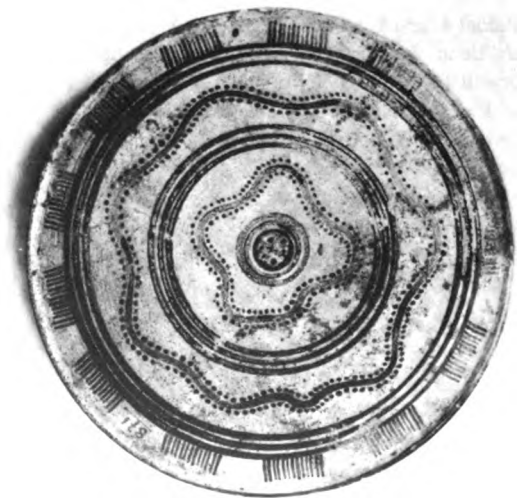




Fig. 2 Horse pyxis MM 1974:7

The attribution of horse pyxis MM 1974:7 hardly presents any problems. The vase shows an uncanny likeness to Agora P4784 which Rodney Young recognized as having been made by the same hand as a number of other pyxides of known and unknown provenience.³ Later R. Lullies⁴ and J. Bouzek added to the list of pyxides belonging to this Agora group, but Bouzek, although recognizing that a number of potters probably worked close enough together to influence each other,⁵ narrowed down the number attributable to the same potter to possibly two, i.e. Copenhagen 7360⁶ and The Hague 3535.⁷

It is very tempting to maintain that our vase was made by the same hand as Agora P4784. These two pyxides, of almost identical size, differ only in details in the decoration. It can be demonstrated that the potter at least had access to, if not even used, the same multiple brush⁸ to make all the multiple groups of strokes and vertical zigzags on both pyxides and possibly also the double chevrons on MM 1974:7. All these groups consist, without exception, of thirteen units. Further the two brushes on the far right produce thick bold lines, while the fourth brush from the right gives a weak uncertain line. These peculiarities are most



Fig. 3-4 Horse pyxis MM 1974:7



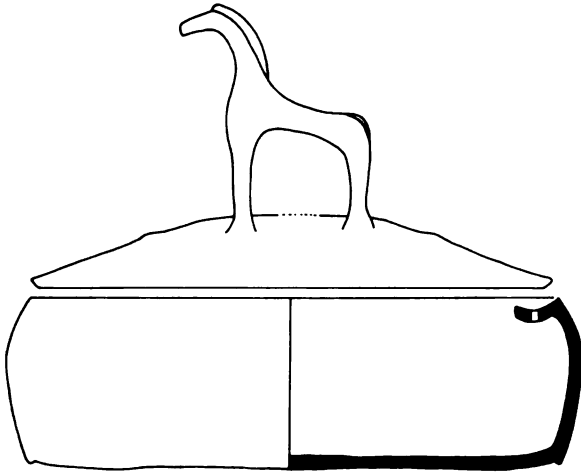


Fig. 5 Drawing of horse pyxis MM 1974:7. By B Wells.

noticeable in the groups of vertical zigzags on the lids of the two vases, but can also be seen in the groups of strokes. Thus I conclude that MM 1974:7 and Agora P4784 were made by the same hand. Further I wish to argue that Würzburg H4431⁹ was made by the same potter. The metopal decorative scheme is identical in all three vases, although the narrow vertical panels are cross-hatched on Agora P4784 and Würzburg H4431 while filled with double chevrons on our pyxis. The number of zones on the lids of the three pyxides differs, ours having three, the Agora one four, and the Würzburg one five. In the latter case there are four horses on the lid as opposed to three on the other two and they are no longer frontal but have the lead horses turning their heads side-ways.¹⁰ The greater number of zones and horses on the lid might be due to the fact that the Würzburg pyxis has a larger diameter than the other two.¹¹ And this may also account for the choice of a different scheme of decoration on the underside of this vase, where a nine-foiled flower with cross-hatched leaves interspaced with groups of zigzags occupies the center.¹² However, the thirteen-fold multiple brush used for the groups of strokes and zigzags on Würzburg H4431 speaks in favor of attributing also this pyxis to the same potter as MM 1974:7 and Agora P4784. No two brushes could be made to produce exactly the same thick and thin lines as the brush on these three pyxides does. If this line of reasoning is correct, I do not hesitate to attribute at least two more

pyxides to the same hand, namely Copenhagen 7360 and The Hague 3535. Both these vases have central floral motives on the undersides, four horses on the lids, and diameters around 30 cms.^{12a}

The flat horse pyxis makes its appearance in MG II,¹³ but reaches its greatest popularity in LG I before it loses favor at the beginning of LG II. The number of horses increases to three or four in LG I,¹⁴ and this great interest in horses matches their popularity in vase-painting. Herein J. Wiesner sees a reflection of society: there exists a social class which has the leisure to, the means of, and the interest in raising horses. He regards the repeated occurrence of the horse as proof of a nobility.¹⁵ The affluence of this class manifests itself in the size and number of the richly decorated vases, specifically made for funerary use and put as markers on their graves.

Usually the pyxis is associated with male burials and this is especially true of the type with plastic horses on the lid.¹⁶ Not all pyxides, however, have been connected with graves,¹⁷ even if it is highly likely that the well-preserved examples come from such a context. Thus our vase, MM 1974:7, was probably once part of the funerary offerings of a male burial.

We have seen that we can, with fair certainty, attribute a number of pyxides to the same potter¹⁸ and that he probably worked closely enough with others for them to influence each other.¹⁹ These potters were active at a time when the truly tectonic idea behind the metopal decoration had more or less been lost. The units of the triglyphs had expanded so as to form new metopes, a change which can be observed in the LG Ib phase.²⁰ This phase, according to N. Coldstream, lasts for only some fifteen years, 750–735 B.C.²¹, during which period our horse pyxis MM 1974:7 probably was made.

Additional note:

An exciting piece of information arrived from Dr. Barbara Bohen, Athens, after this article was handed in: a horse pyxis, practically identical to MM 1974:7, is now in the Athens National Museum (inv.no. 19331). Its origin is given as “perhaps from Attika, gift of Rodney Young, 1933”. She thinks it highly likely that the Stockholm and Athens pyxides were among those Young saw on the antique market in Athens (*Hesperia Suppl.* 2, 1939, p. 92) and I am prone to agreeing with her.

¹ A brief description of the pyxis is given in the exhibition catalogue (no. 67), *Antiken. Konst från den grekisk-romerska kulturvärlden ur svenska samlingar. Utställning tillägnad H.M. Konungen. Anordnad av Medelhavsmuseet och Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, september–november 1967*. Nationalmusei utställningskatalog 313, Stockholm 1967.

² Both the bowl and the lid are marked with the no. 871. However, the lid has been relabeled with the no. 775 and the old number has been crossed out. It is my guess that these numbers stem from antique dealers who have thus marked their goods. R. S. Young gives an interesting piece of information in *Hesperia Suppl.* 2, 1939, p. 92, where he states that he had seen four horse pyxides similar to Agora P4784 on the antique market in Athens, all said to come from Spata (cf. also *Deltion* 6, 1920–21, p. 137, fig. 7) only a few kilometers east of Liopesi.

³ *Hesperia Suppl.* 2, 1939, pp. 91–92, figs. 60–61 and further references.

⁴ *CVA München* 3 (= Deutschland 9), pl. 126.

⁵ J. Bouzek, 'Die Attisch-geometrische Keramik im Nationalmuseum in Prag und in den anderen Tschechoslowakischen Sammlungen', *Sbornik*, Series A, 1959:3, p. 135. For further additions and references see *CVA Würzburg* 1 (= Deutschland 39) by Fernande Hölscher. Another member of the group was put on the market in 1961 (cf. *Ars Antiqua*, Auktion III, 29. April 1961, Luzern). An exhaustive study of the Attic Geometric pyxis by Barbara

Bohen is forthcoming in the *Kerameikos* series (Diss. New York 1979).

⁶ *CVA Copenhagen* 2 (= Denmark 2), pl. 71, 4a–b.

⁷ *CVA The Hague* 2 (= Pays-Bas 2), pl. III Hb, 3, 5–6.

⁸ The multiple brush was first used in MG II. See N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery (GGP)*, London 1968, p. 24.

⁹ *CVA Würzburg* 1, pl. 6.

¹⁰ *CVA Würzburg* 1, pl. 6, 2–3.

¹¹ *CVA Würzburg* 1, p. 13.

¹² *CVA Würzburg* 1, pl. 6, 4.

^{12a} Cf. *CVA Copenhagen* 2, p. 52 and *CVA The Hague* 2, III H b, p. 5.

¹³ *GGP*, p. 23. The earliest pyxis with a plastic horse comes from the Agora Boot Grave (cf. *Hesperia* 18, 1949, p. 290, fig. 3 and pl. 67, 3). Here, however, it was placed on a globular pyxis with everted lip, a Late Protogeometric shape, which was slowly abandoned in EG I (cf. *GGP*, p. 11).

¹⁴ *GGP*, pp. 47–48.

¹⁵ J. Wiesner, *Fahren und Reiten* (= *Archaeologia Homerica*, Band I, Kapitel F), Göttingen 1968, pp. 63–66, 72–73.

¹⁶ Cf. *Kerameikos* V, pp. 27–28, 31–32.

¹⁷ B. Bohen, 'A Geometric Horse Pyxis from Asine', *OpAth* XIII, forthcoming.

¹⁸ Cf. *supra* p. 25.

¹⁹ Bouzek *supra* n. 5.

²⁰ *GGP*, p. 30.

²¹ *GGP*, p. 330.

Four Core-formed Glass Vessels in the Medelhavsmuseet

Paul A. H. Wedendal

The collection of glass at the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm comprises four well-preserved, core-formed, glass vessels from the Mediterranean area.¹ As they were acquired on the antique market, they are of unknown provenance, but they represent well-known shapes of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. They are amphoriskos MM 829, amphoriskos MM 830, alabastron MM 1962:16 and aryballos MM 1974:6.²

The invention of the core technique dates from the middle of the second millennium BC and occurred in Mesopotamia rather than in Egypt.³ For about three hundred years thereafter, glass-working flourished and core vessels used for holding unguents and perfumes were produced both in Mesopotamia and in Egypt.⁴

After the invasions and disasters about 1200 BC which ended the Bronze-Age civilizations in the area, the production of glass vessels almost ceased and does not seem to have been revived until the early 8th century BC in Mesopotamia, somewhat later also in Syria. These areas produced distinctive types of vessels with characteristic shapes and patterns.⁵ Amphoriskoi and alabastra in core-glass technique occur in Palestine and Transjordan burials of late 7th and early 6th centuries BC.⁶ Whereas previously they were very sparse, large quantities of glass vessels appeared after 550 BC, imitating the four contemporary Greek pottery shapes of amphoriskos, aryballos, alabastron and oinochoe.⁷ They usually have a dark-blue ground, with lighter inlay decoration, as have the amphoriskoi and the aryballos presented here.⁸ Structural analyses of core substances from these 6th- and 5th-century vessels, compared with those of the Egyptian New Empire, have shown that, while the early cores were made from a mixture of plant material (or dung) and clay, sand was added to the later cores.⁹ As previously

stated, core vessels were used for holding oil and unguents, the aryballoi mainly for oil, the alabastra for perfume.¹⁰ On account of their shapes, they needed stands, which were made of glass¹¹ and even gold.¹²

These 6th- and 5th-century vessels mostly occur in rich graves of Greek character.¹³ Glass vessels are usually found in the graves of women and children, seldom in men's graves, and they were often placed in the hands of the deceased.¹⁴

Amphoriskoi

Amphoriskos MM 829¹⁵

H: 0.065 m. Gr.D: 0.041 m.

Shape: Splayed rim. Short, cylindrical neck with concave sides. Curved junction between neck and shoulder. Ovoid, smooth body. Two vertical handles from underneath rim to middle of shoulder. Flattened base knob.

Colours and pattern: Dark-blue, glossy body with orange-yellow and turquoise trails. At edge of rim, orange-yellow trail. On neck and shoulder, three orange-yellow, broad trails. Mixed zigzag pattern in blue, turquoise and yellow on middle of body. Blue handles.

Condition: Intact. Unweathered.

Parallels: Parallels from datable contexts are, for example, an amphoriskos from Boeotia dated c. 500 BC¹⁶ and three items from Ampurias dating from the first quarter of the 5th century BC.¹⁷ Another two amphoriskoi from Ampurias were excavated in graves dating from the second quarter of the 5th century BC¹⁸ and an item from Camiros dates from the same time.¹⁹



Amphoriskos MM 829

Two more specimens from Ialissos and Kamiros²⁰ were dated in the 5th century BC. Amphoriskos MM 829 dates from the first half of the 5th century BC.²¹

Amphoriskos MM 830²²

H: 0.095 m. Gr.D: 0.055 m.

Shape: Splayed rim. Cylindrical neck with concave sides. Ovoid, vertically ribbed body. Two vertical handles from underneath rim to middle of shoulder. Flattened base knob.

Colours and pattern: Dark-blue body with yellow and turquoise trails. At edge of rim, yellow trail. Yellow-lined trails on neck and shoulder. Turquoise and yellow feather pattern on middle of body. Blue handles.

Condition: Handles and neck broken and repaired. Bubbly and weathered.

Parallels: An amphoriskos with the same shape was found in a warrior's grave at Chalkidike dating from c. 525–500 BC²³ and two specimens from Trebenischte date from the second half of the 6th century BC.²⁴ This type with a "high shoulder" seems to be of somewhat earlier date than the type with a more rounded shoulder like MM 829, although Harden, for example, dates both types in the 6th/5th centuries BC, obviously following Fossing.²⁵ The evolution of shape, as attested by finds from Ampurias,²⁶ for example, seems to go from an amphoriskos type with a high shoulder and often vertically ribbed body to a more ovoid, smooth type. In the second half of the 5th century, the body of the amphoriskoi gradually became more slender.²⁷ MM 830 should be dated in the second half of the 6th century BC or early 5th century BC.

Amphoriskos MM 830



Alabastron

Alabastron MM 1962:16²⁸

H: 0.1 m. Gr.D: 0.027 m.

Shape: Broad rim, flattened on top. Short, cylindrical neck. Rounded, pronounced shoulder. Cylindrical, long body of uniform thickness and with convex base. Below shoulder, two vertical, drawn ring-handles with tails.

Alabastron MM 1962:16



Colours and pattern: Opaque, dark-green rim and neck. Mixed, opaque, green, yellow and white trails on body. Dark-green handles. Arcade pattern below shoulder, zigzag pattern further down, and feather pattern at bottom.

Condition: Intact. Somewhat weathered.

Parallels: The evolution of the shape of the alabastron is exhaustively discussed by von Bissing.²⁹ Parallels to alabastron MM 1962:16 are an item from Ampurias dated c. 475–450,³⁰ and another from Caltanissetta dated 440–430.³¹ Fossing gives some examples, all from the second half of the 5th century BC, of this type of alabastron with a short neck, pronounced shoulder and entirely vertical wall.³² Alabastron MM 1962:16 dates from the 5th century BC.

Aryballos

Aryballos MM 1974:6³³

H: 0.062 m. Gr.D: 0.05 m.

Aryballos MM 1974:6



Shape: Splayed rim. Short, cylindrical neck. Two vertical, drawn ring-handles with tails from underneath rim to shoulder.

Colours and pattern: Dark-blue body with opaque yellow and turquoise trails. At edge of rim, turquoise trail. Handles turquoise. Yellow spiral trail on shoulder. Arcade and zigzag pattern on middle of body. Yellow and blue spiral below the middle.

Condition: Intact. Some surface dulling.

Parallels: The aryballoi indeed form a very homogeneous group in shape and pattern.³⁴ Parallels were excavated at Ampurias in contexts, dating from about 500–450 BC.³⁵ Further parallels from Athens³⁶ and Samothrace³⁷ suggest that aryballos MM 1974:6 should be dated in first half of the 5th century BC.³⁸

Origin

The question of the origin of these 6th and 5th-century vessels is rather problematic. Although the number of vessels preserved³⁹ and the variety of their shapes indicate that different core-glass factories must have existed at this time, no such centres of manufacture seem to have been excavated. Since so much material has not yet been published, our knowledge of the distribution pattern is very incomplete, which makes it difficult to locate the factories.⁴⁰ However, several theories have been put forward. Fossing, the great authority in this field, accepted Egypt as the production centre also during this period⁴¹ and was followed by others.⁴² Fossing's arguments for the Egyptian origin of these vessels were their resemblance in pattern and colour to New Empire glass vessels and King Amasis' interest in old handicrafts in the middle of the 6th century, the period when this type of core vessels appeared in quantities. The Greek shapes would be explained by the taste of the customers, the Greek market being a principal market.⁴³

Von Bissing argued against Fossing and pointed out that the Egyptian national tendency had already begun a century before King Amasis' reign.⁴⁴ Furthermore, few, if any, vessels have been excavated in Egypt from this time⁴⁵ and the pattern – festoons and zigzags – seems to be inherent in the art of decorating glass and has occurred independently, at different periods and

places, ever since the invention of glass-making.⁴⁶ Nor were the techniques of making the vessels during the New Empire and the 6th/5th centuries the same, as is shown by analyses of core substance.⁴⁷ The probability that these vessels are Egyptian is therefore not great. A Syrian⁴⁸ or Phoenician⁴⁹ origin of these vessels has also been proposed.

Finds of core vessels of the 6th/5th centuries are rare in Syria and Phoenicia,⁵⁰ although some of the earliest vessels were found in Palestine.⁵¹ Furthermore, the 6th century in Palestine and Phoenicia was characterized by poverty and a low standard of culture, owing to the destructions and deportations of the 7th and early 6th centuries BC.⁵² D. Barag, who has demonstrated by geographical survey and typological study that special types of core vessels were produced and used in Mesopotamia until c. 500 BC,⁵³ claims that neither the typological study nor the geographical diffusion indicate that Phoenicians were involved in the manufacture of these vessels with Greek shapes.⁵⁴

The fact that the shapes of the vessels produced during this period are Greek⁵⁵ makes it probable that most of the core glass was produced in Greek glass centres.⁵⁶ The Greek region had a high standard of culture during the 6th and 5th centuries BC and was famous for diverse handicrafts. The distribution area of the core vessels coincides fairly well with that of Attic pottery⁵⁷ and the vessels were frequently excavated in burials of Greek character. E. M. Stern finds it probable that core vessels were not only distributed by Greek merchants but also produced by Greek artisans for use by predominantly Greek customers,⁵⁸ although they were also valued by others, as is demonstrated by the finds in Carthage, Spain and Etruria.⁵⁹ That glass-working⁶⁰ existed in Greece is proved by the finds in Phidias' workshop in Olympia⁶¹ and though the words of the Ambassadors returning from Persia in Aristophanes' *The Acharnians* (v. 74) have been differently interpreted,⁶² von Bissing convincingly argues that they probably indicate the Greeks' knowledge of glass.⁶³

The probability that glass centres existed in the Greek sphere does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the Etruscans and Carthaginians may have imitated some types of core-glass vessels. However, there is no reason to believe that the four vessels presented here would be such copies.

¹ Core vessels in general: P. Fossing, *Glass Vessels before Glass-blowing*, Copenhagen 1940. Mesopotamian: D. Barag in A. L. Oppenheim, R. H. Brill, D. Barag and A. von Saldern, *Glass and Glass-making in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New York 1970. Egyptian New Empire: B. Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße im alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1968. A core was formed around the end of a metal rod and the vessel was fashioned from molten glass applied to the core. For the various theories as to how the core glass was made, see, for example, D. Barag *et al.*, *op.cit.*, pp. 133–134.

² I wish to thank Dr Carl-Gustaf Styrenius and Dr Bengt Peterson for allowing me to publish these core-glass vessels.

³ D. Barag, *JGS* 4, 1962, pp. 9–27.

⁴ See, for example, D. B. Harden in D. B. Harden, K. S. Painter, R. H. Pinder-Wilson and H. Tait, *Masterpieces of Glass*, British Museum, London 1968, p. 11 (herein referred to as *Masterpieces*).

⁵ D. B. Harden, *ArchJ* 125, 1968, pp. 53–55.

⁶ Fossing, *op.cit.*, p. 46, Barag, *op.cit.*, pp. 196–197, note 231.

⁷ *Masterpieces*, p. 13. Fossing, *op.cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

⁸ Some 3500 specimens of preserved vessels with a dark-blue ground were estimated to exist by B. Nolte and T. E. Haevernick in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock* 16, 1967, p. 492.

⁹ M. Bimson & A. Werner, "Problems in Egyptian Core Glasses", and J. F. Wosinski & R. H. Brill, "A Petrographic Study of Egyptian and Other Cored Vessels", in *Studies in Glass History and Design. Papers Read to Committee B Sessions of the 8th International Congress on Glass, London, 1st–6th July 1968*, pp. 121–124.

¹⁰ Fossing, *op.cit.*, p. 76.

¹¹ *Masterpieces*, p. 22, no. 15.

¹² R. Siviero, *Jewelry and Amber of Italy*, 1959, p. 15, no. 23.

¹³ Fossing, *op.cit.*, pp. 42–58. M. Almagro Basch, *Las Necrópolis de Ampurias I & II*, Barcelona 1953 & 1955. (Exception: The tombs of Pitane seem not to be very rich; see B. Freyer-Schauenburg, "Die Glasfunde aus Pitane (Candarli)", *Anatolia* 17, 1973, pp. 141–175).

¹⁴ For example, Fossing, *op.cit.*, pp. 76–77. Many children's graves at Ampurias; cf. Almagro, *op.cit.*

¹⁵ Bought in Athens, Greece, by the late Prof. Olof Vessberg. Bibliography: *Antiken. Nationalmusei utställningskatalog no. 313*, Stockholm 1967, p. 90, no. 375 (hereinafter referred to as *Antiken*).

¹⁶ R. M. Burrows & P. N. Ure, *JHS* 29, 1909, p. 327, Fig. 11.

¹⁷ Almagro, *op.cit.*, inh. Bonjoan 23, pp. 164–166, Fig. 134:7 (I), inh. Bonjoan 43, pp. 178–183, Fig. 151:5, Pl. 14:8 (I), inh. Bonjoan 55, pp. 193–196, Fig. 165:3, Pl. 14:5 (I).

¹⁸ Almagro, *op.cit.* I, inh. Martí 77, pp. 81–84, Fig. 54:4 & 54:5, Pl. 5:9 & 5:12, inh. Granada 12, pp. 242 ff. Fig. 207:3, Pl. 14:11.

¹⁹ *Masterpieces*, p. 22, no. 15.

²⁰ *Clara Rhodos III*, p. 208, Fig. 204, no. 10789, p. 211, Fig. 210, no. 10811, p. 236, Fig. 234, no. 11890. *Ibid.* IV, p. 263, Fig. 287, no. 12304.

²¹ Other parallels are A. von Saldern *et al.*, *Gläser der Antike. Sammlung Erwin Oppenländer*, Hamburg 1974, p. 58, Fig. 128, p. 62, Figs. 140 & 142. *StEtr* 34, 1966, p. 22, Fig. 12, c. 450 BC. Fossing, *op.cit.*, pp. 71–72.

²² Bought in Athens in 1948 by the late Prof. Olof Vessberg. Bibliography: *Antiken* p. 90, no. 373.

²³ F. J. Hassel, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 14, 1967, pp. 201–205, Pl. 51:3.

²⁴ B. D. Filow, *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenische am Ochrida-See*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, p. 94, no. 142, Fig. 112:2. N. Vulic, "Ein neues Grab bei Trebenische", *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 27, 1932, p. 37, no. 49, Fig. 60.

²⁵ Cf. Fossing, *op.cit.*, pp. 67–72. Harden, *op.cit.*, p. 54, Fig. 3.

²⁶ Almagro, *op.cit.* The series of graves excavated at Ampurias is continuous from the 6th to the 4th centuries BC.

²⁷ R. Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst*, Munich 1955, no. 269, Pl. 87. L. Galanina, *Archeologicescic Sbornik* 12, Leningrad 1970, p. 36, Fig. 1.

²⁸ Bought at an auction at Ars Antiqua, Lucerne on 7 December 1962, no. 183. Gift of His Majesty Gustaf VI Adolf, the late King of Sweden. *Antiken*, p. 90, no. 374.

²⁹ von Bissing, *StEtr* 16, 1942, pp. 89–195, Pls. 12 & 13.

³⁰ Almagro, *op.cit.*, inh. Martí, pp. 81–84, Fig. 54:2, Pl. 5:6.

³¹ Museo Nazionale, Agrigento: no. V, 1623, from grave 19, Caltanissetta.

³² Fossing, *op.cit.*, p. 66, note 3.

³³ Acquisition not recorded.

³⁴ Fossing, *op.cit.*, pp. 72–74, with references.

³⁵ Almagro, *op.cit.*, I, inh. Bonjoan 23, pp. 164–166, Fig. 134:6, Pl. 14:4, dated c. 500–475 BC, inh. Bonjoan 43, pp. 178–183, Fig. 151:4, Pl. 14:6, same date, inh. Granada 12, pp. 242 ff., Fig. 207:2, Pl. 14:10.

³⁶ *Deltion* 22, 1967, p. 98 c. 450 BC.

³⁷ E. B. Dusenbery, *JGS* 9, 1967, pp. 36–37, Figs. 2 & 3.

³⁸ Other parallels are *Masterpieces*, p. 22, no. 14, *Sammlung Oppenländer*, p. 64, Figs. 143 & 144, and *NSc* 31, 1974, p. 224, Fig. 17 B.

³⁹ See above, note 8.

⁴⁰ A study of the distribution pattern by Mrs B. Nolte-Schlick is in preparation.

⁴¹ Fossing, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

⁴² For example, F. Neuburg, *Glass in Antiquity*, London 1949, pp. 12 & 15. *Idem*, *Antikes Glas*, Darmstadt 1962, pp. 34 ff. P. Kahane, *Antiquity and Survival II*, 2/3, 1957, pp. 208–224.

⁴³ Fossing, *op.cit.*, pp. 79–82.

⁴⁴ von Bissing, *op.cit.*, p. 186, note 262.

⁴⁵ Fossing, *op.cit.*, p. 47. Harden *op.cit.*, p. 53.

⁴⁶ E. M. Stern, *Ancient Glass at the Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt) Paris*, Groningen 1977, p. 14.

⁴⁷ See above, note 9.

⁴⁸ C. L. Wooley, *JHS* 58, 1938, pp. 22 & 157. Harden, *op.cit.*, p. 55. A. von Saldern, *Ancient Glass in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston 1968, p. 12. Freyer-Schauenburg, *op.cit.*, p. 171.

⁴⁹ D. B. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, London 1962, pp. 154 f.

⁵⁰ Fossing, op.cit., p. 46, Barag, op.cit., pp. 196–197, note 231. Stern, op.cit., p. 18, note 32.

⁵¹ See above, notes 6 & 50.

⁵² Stern, op.cit., p. 15.

⁵³ Barag, op.cit., p. 197.

⁵⁴ Barag, op.cit., p. 196.

⁵⁵ See above, note 7.

⁵⁶ The Greek mainland and Greek islands, for example, Euboea or Delos, have been proposed by von Bissing (op.cit., pp. 168–194). His arguments were accepted by K. Schefold (*Orient, Hellas und Rom*, 1949, p. 48). Nolte and Haevernick (op.cit., Pl. 65) have presented a distribution map of white-ground vessels, which they consider to be “Greek” without further specification or argument. Rhodes has been suggested by T. E. Haevernick, *JbRGZM* 7, 1960, pp. 56–58, and Harden, op.cit., p. 55. J. W. Hayes (*Roman and Pre-Roman Glass in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue*, Toronto

1975, p. 5) has proposed an Aegean or eastern Greek source. Stern (op.cit., pp. 14–17) considers the Greek mainland and the islands, Magna Graecia, Sicily, Ionia and Rhodes to be possible centres of manufacture.

⁵⁷ Fossing, op.cit., p. 70. von Bissing, op.cit., pp. 191–192, note 272.

⁵⁸ Stern, op.cit., p. 16.

⁵⁹ Fossing, op.cit., pp. 51–56. Nolte and Haevernick, op.cit., Pl. 65. M. Brouillet, *La Verrerie Punique*, Paris 1974.

⁶⁰ On the distinction between *glass-making* and *glass-working*, see Harden, op.cit., p. 49.

⁶¹ E. Kunze, *Olympia. Neue Deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderen Orient*, 1959, pp. 284–289.

⁶² Fossing (op.cit., pp. 79–80) quoted this passage in order to prove that glass was an exotic product, hardly known in Athens 425 BC, but von Bissing definitely rejected his interpretation (von Bissing, op.cit., p. 191).

⁶³ von Bissing, op.cit., pp. 168–194.

Sirens and Sphinxes from the Micali Painter's Workshop

Charlotte Scheffer

In the collection of the Medelhavsmuseet, there are two Etruscan, black-figured vases evidently originating from the Micali Painter's workshop.¹ One of them (MM 1974:28) is an amphora (Figs. 1–6) and the other (MM 1962:14) a hydria (Figs. 7–10).² The amphora is unusual in having been found in a proper excavation, its find context thus being known. It was found in the Osteria necropolis at Vulci in a chamber tomb excavated in 1962 by the Società Hercle and formed part of the material surrendered to that society.³ In 1967 it was presented by G. Saragat, the President of Italy, to Gustaf VI Adolf, the King of Sweden, and was later among the objects bequeathed to the Medelhavsmuseet by the King. The hydria, the provenance of which is not known, was bought at Sotheby's on 18 June 1962 and is also a gift by the King.⁴

Both in general and in details, parallels to the two vases can easily be found among the other vases from the workshop. The amphora is a neck amphora of a type frequently used.⁵ The hydria is a little unusual in that its vertical handle does not even reach the level of the rim, a characteristic which is, however, also found on a few other hydriai from the workshop.⁶

The amphora has decoration on top of the rim, on the neck and shoulder and all around the belly. The difference in relation to the formal arrangements on contemporary Athenian neck amphorae is noticeable. The two shoulder fields and the continuous belly zone would be unusual on an Athenian vase. The arrangement seems, however, to have been to Etruscan taste and is very common on vases from the Micali Painter's workshop.⁷ The decoration of Athenian amphorae, especially the floral ornamentation, which was all but neglected on Etruscan vases, was by this time – the end of the sixth century BC – completely standardized and did not admit of the freedom of expression allowed to

the Etruscan painter.

On top of the rim, there is a herring-bone pattern (Fig. 6), perhaps a very hasty rendering of a row of ivy leaves.⁸ The neck is decorated with what looks like flowers alternating with propellers but which is probably a barbarized version of an Athenian lotus-palmette decoration. The Etruscan painter, who most likely had never seen a lotus, misunderstood it and produced instead a shortened version of a palmette. The chain connecting the Athenian palmettes and lotuses has here the appearance of a flat band with dots at even distances, every second one surrounded by a ring coinciding with the middle of a palmette.⁹ Another line of dots separates the neck from the shoulder; maybe, in analogy with the neck pattern, this line should be interpreted as a suggestion of the tongue pattern to be found in this position on Athenian neck amphorae. The glazing of the neck ornament is very thin and there are no incisions.

In each of the two trapezoidal, shoulder fields, a lioness rushes forward to the left, beautifully adapted to the slightly bent shape of the field (Figs. 5–6). The lioness is poised on her hind legs, both front paws off the ground, in a position common in Etruscan art of the late sixth century.¹⁰ She is roaring and lashing her right flank with her tail. The incisions of the mane, ribs, hind part and legs are typical of the lions produced in this workshop.¹¹ The fact that she has a mane, in spite of being very obviously a female, may be explained by the Etruscan painter never having seen a lion, but it is equally likely that he subscribed to the principle of "the more the better", as proved perhaps by the "hermaphroditic" lion on Würzburg 796 (Fig. 13). In front of each of the two lionesses on the amphora in Stockholm, there is a stemmed ivy leaf.

In the belly frieze, between two encircling, black



2. MM 1974:28.



3. MM 1974:28.



4. MM 1974:28.

5. MM 1974:28. Detail of the shoulder.



6. MM 1974:28. Detail of the shoulder.





7. MM 1962:14.



8. MM 1962:14.

9. MM 1962:14. Detail of the neck.

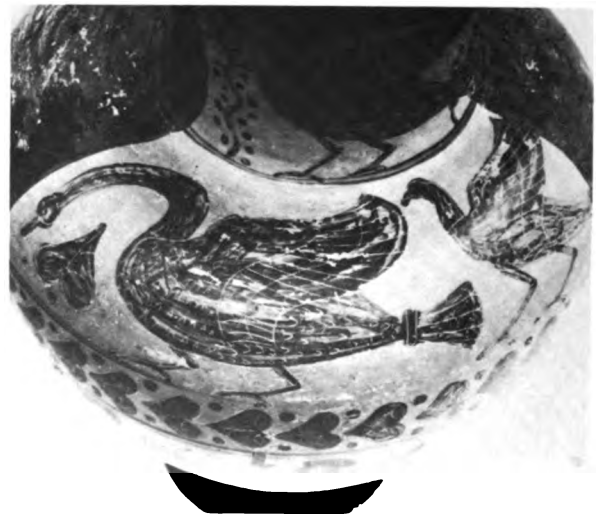


lines above and two below, four female sphinxes and one siren are pursuing each other to the left.¹² The bodies of the sphinxes, apart from the wings, are much the same as those of the lionesses and their posture is also the same. The wings and head of the siren do not differ in any noticeable way from those of the sphinxes; she even seems to be imitating their stance by lifting one of her feet, which incidentally gives the impression that it is growing out of her breast.

The hydria has a continuous field covering the neck, shoulder and body on the front side.¹³ On the neck, there is a siren turned to the left between two plants consisting of long, wavy stems with dot leaves (Fig. 9).¹⁴ On the shoulder, a large bird, perhaps a swan, is followed by a smaller, longer-legged one, both walking to the left (Fig. 10).¹⁵ In front of the swan, there is a stemless ivy leaf with a dot below it. On the body of the vase, three young men are advancing to the left; they carry branches in their left hands and lift their right hands ceremoniously in front of them.¹⁶ Their hair flows out behind them in a way hardly warranted by their scanty movements. They seem to be dressed in chitons and mantles. In front of the first youth, there is a stemmed lotus bud. Above and below this main field, there is a band of stylized ivy leaves and dots,¹⁷ also turned to the left, and on the sides there are lines between dots.

On both vases, a lack of planning is conspicuous. On the amphora, the siren and the sphinx behind her are overlapping. The front feet of the sphinx appear as

10. MM 1962:14. Detail of the shoulder.



dark shadows behind the rear part of the siren, as if she was almost transparent. Not even an Etruscan painter would, however, consider hiding the face of the sphinx behind the wing of the siren, transparent or not, and he has compromised by incising the details of both wing and face, even though, by doing so, he had to forgo the illusion that one of the figures was behind the other. It looks almost as if he added the siren as an after-thought to enliven the rigidity and symmetry of the frieze with the four sphinxes. This painter seems to have been a man who worked on inspiration and regarded as minor details things like two figures overlapping or the omitting of eyes or legs.¹⁸

On the hydria, the tails of the siren and the smaller bird, the tip of the wing of the latter and the last of the ivy leaves in the frieze above the main picture were covered with black glaze, when the body of the vase was painted; some of the incised lines have been repeated, but most of them are still hidden beneath the glaze. There are two possible explanations for this. One is that the painter made a preliminary sketch before painting the main part of the vase black. He then found that he had accidentally extended the pictures too far to the right and had to paint over them in order to retain the symmetry of the vase. He then made a half-hearted attempt to save his sketch by re-incising some of the lines. It is difficult in this case to see why he did not move his figures while there was still time or, if not, what purpose the sketch served. The second possibility is that he painted and incised the figures before painting the main part of the vase, then found the figures too far to the right and had to make the best of a bad job.

It has been claimed that the incisions on the Micali Painter's vases also served – in a way that has not been further explained – as guide-lines for the painter.¹⁹ If that is the case here, the painter has managed to follow the trace of the guide-lines with a precision most unexpected in an Etruscan, because all the now visible lines seem to have been made after painting. In a few instances, his tool slipped. The siren has both a double head-line and a double neck-line and the small bird two breast-lines, but these lines do not differ from the others and seem so obviously slips of the hand that they cannot be taken as proof of a preliminary sketch.

The general scheme of decoration, the motifs and the details are all typical of the output of the workshop. Perhaps the most typical feature is the way of designing the wings with their chequered pinions and small, hook-shaped lines meant to resemble feathers. Another

characteristic is the manner of depicting human hair with a straight fringe in front and long, flowing locks at the back; the latter look as if they were escaping from a bonnet, with a wavy line denoting the back of the head. Very common are small plant details, like the ivy leaves and lotuses scattered in the picture fields.

Looking at the two vases separately, it seems quite likely that they may both be by the Micali Painter himself. Looking at them together, it seems much less likely that they should be by the same hand, although almost every detail by itself seems to exist on other vases ascribed to the master painter.

The most obvious difference between the two vases is perhaps that of quality. The amphora has a superior glaze; the drawing is fluent and vigorous. The hydria has a dull glaze, streakily applied, and the manner of incision, although not without skill, is much less decided. The very construction of the hydria is not successful; it looks as if the neck has been wrongly attached too far to one side, thereby creating the impression of a shoulder which is first convex and then inexplicably concave at the base of the neck.

Apart from these differences, it may suffice to compare the sirens on the two vases (Figs. 1 and 9).²⁰ The siren on the hydria has the pinions of her wing bisected by only one long line, which results in two rows of rectangles. The pinions of the siren on the amphora are trisected, resulting in three rows of squares. On the hydria, the pinions stop well above the belly line of the siren, whereas on the amphora siren they continue down to that line. The siren on the amphora has, at a short distance below the upper edge of the wing, a horizontal line, which continues down into the breast-line; in the intervening space between this horizontal line and the upper edge, there is a row of the little, crescent-shaped feathers. This feature is lacking on the siren on the hydria.

The tails are also different. On the hydria, the siren has a tail like a scrubbing brush – a bunch of long feathers spreading from a broad ring. The tail of the siren on the amphora is fairly nonchalantly done but has two clear, transverse lines. On vases related to the amphora but more carefully painted, the hind parts of birds and sirens end in a point, from which the tail feathers grow (Fig. 17).

The strong, almost masculine features of the siren on the amphora contrast sharply with the mincing, delicate look of the siren on the hydria. This pinched look does not seem to be common on the vases from the workshop but seems to recur in the traits of a young



11. Florence 4173. Courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità d'Etruria, Firenze.

man running on a two-handled hydria in Florence (Fig. 11),²¹ which shows a definite, overall likeness to the hydria in Stockholm.

It is notoriously difficult to differentiate the work of the Micali Painter from that of the other painters of his workshop.²² Details are often congruent in cases in which the whole impression is different. Dohrn seems to have been well aware of this difficulty when he divided the vases between several different painters, among them the Palaestra Painter, considered by Beazley to be the Micali Painter at an early age, and the Siren Painter, who, according to Beazley, was the Micali Painter at a more mature age.²³

The work of the Micali Painter seems to be characterized by two major trends, which are to some extent represented by the two vases in Stockholm. One is that most nearly corresponding to Dohrn's Palaestra Painter: a sensitive, detailed drawing, advanced in the portrayal of the human body and the correct movements of garments, which, combined with a poor glaze, seems to stress a disregard for the requirements of the silhouette technique.²⁴ The other trend comprises the

greater part of the vases attributed to the painter. They are characterized by a strong feeling for the black-figure technique; the glaze is often good – by Etruscan standards – and the figures are strong and well defined; the incision is bold and to the point and does not by any means strive to imitate nature. There is also, it seems, a difference in temperament. In the first, there is a studied ceremoniousness – not a few of the motifs are complicated scenes with many figures; in the second, the monotony of the animal frieze is overcome by the strength and liveliness of the figures. It does not seem easy to reconcile these two moods and methods of painting in the same man, in spite of many details being undeniably the same.

As examples, we may take two vases that seem to be the opposites of each other. They are the hydria 4139 in Florence and the amphora 796 in Würzburg (Figs. 12–13).²⁵ In the main field on the vase in Florence, the figures – an assembly of gods – seem to be urbanely engaging each other in small talk, sniffing flowers and

12. Florence 4139. Courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità d'Etruria, Firenze.



moving their hands gracefully. On the shoulder, there are some sedately dancing satyrs and on the neck a procession of young men holding garlands. Very apparent is the care lavished on the elaborate ornamental decoration. The attraction of the vase lies in the delicacy of the details and the finess of the drawing; the whole impression is somewhat bleak and the effect of the dark silhouettes against the light background seems weakened.

Compared with this vase, the amphora in Würzburg reveals a very different state of mind. On each of the shoulders, a lioness – in one case of both male and female sex – is on the point of attacking a bird apparently completely paralyzed with fright. The animated belly frieze, showing dancing satyrs and a crouching woman, competes successfully with this impressively quiet scene, which is turned to the left. The figures in the belly frieze are turned in different directions, but the general movement to the right is not disturbed. The diagonal lines of limbs, long hair and tails stress the movement. The silhouette effect is completely realized and is supported by the simplicity of the incision. The clarity of the composition is underlined by the lack of secondary floral ornamentation.

The hydria in Stockholm shows many of the traits of the vase in Florence. The profile of the siren on the hydria can be likened to those of the young men on the other vase with the pad of hair over the concave, pointed nose and the small, rounded chin. The affected gestures and bearing of the young men are alike on both vases. Branches or garlands of dot-plant type are carried or surround the figures on both hydriai;²⁶ they serve as a further characteristic trait by which to distinguish this kind of vase from vases of the Würzburg kind. The garments on the young men in Stockholm can be seen as a simplification or a misunderstanding of the chitons and mantles worn by the Florence youths. The poor cover of the glaze is another, although probably involuntary trait which the two vases have in common, as is also the warped shape. The hydria in Stockholm should perhaps not be considered a work by the master himself but by some painter among his followers. The drawing is, however, not bad and it is just possible that it is very hasty work by the same man. In either case, there is a strong connecting link with vases of the Florence kind.

The amphora, on the other hand, is obviously related to the Würzburg vase. It seems fairly certain that the ornamentation of the neck on the Stockholm amphora could not have been made by the same man who made



13. Würzburg 796. Courtesy of the Martin v. Wagner-Museum der Universität, Würzburg.

the exquisite floral pattern on the Florence vase. Either the two vases were not painted by the same man or two painters worked on the vase in Stockholm, the least important of them painting the less demanding neck ornamentation.

For a further confirmation of the differences in the production of the workshop, one can compare the sphinxes on the Stockholm amphora with a pair of sphinxes on the shoulder of a hydria in the Vatican (Fig. 14)²⁷ – stately females with whom they seem not to have much in common. Another example is constituted by the comparison between the siren on the Stockholm amphora and some smaller cousins of hers in Leipzig (Fig. 15), on the one hand, and a very carefully executed siren on a fragment also in the Vatican (Fig. 16), on the other.²⁸ A final comparison is the one offered by the swan on the hydria in Stockholm and a row of neatly walking geese on an amphora in Vulci (Fig. 17).²⁹

It does not seem altogether impossible that, behind the very obvious details and easily recognizable



14. Vatican 237. Detail of the shoulder, (after Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Pl. 23).

idiosyncrasies of the vases hitherto assigned to one single person, a thorough analysis of all the available evidence would result not so much in a chronological differentiation as in the identification of the hands of two or more different painters.

Such an analysis would be interesting. I cannot agree with Dohrn, who thinks these vases of such inferior quality that one need not trouble oneself overmuch about them.³⁰ This was by far the largest workshop producing Etruscan black-figured vases and had a very numerous output, which should make it all the easier to trace the relationship between the painters in the workshop. Sometimes it seems as if the search for different hands in a workshop or a school of vase-painters becomes an end in itself, but in this case it might reward us with some – however slight – information as to how such a workshop functioned. Was there one master painter occupied with the no doubt time-consuming task of decorating the elaborate vases of the Florence kind, while another painter or several other painters produced the more standardized vases with animal friezes? Were some of the painters only occasionally allowed to paint vases on their own and mostly kept busy facilitating the work of the leading painter? Maybe painting and incision were not done by the same man, as is perhaps indicated by the hydria in Stockholm, where the incision seems so much more skilled and careful than the painting.

An inscription on a vase in Würzburg has in fact given us at least some information about one of the painters active in the Micali Painter's workshop.³¹ The inscription reads *kapemukaθesa*. According to Colonna, this is the name of the painter, a local Etruscan

called Kape, who was the slave of a man named Mukathe. If this interpretation is true, this very important inscription tells us the nationality and status of a painter at this time. It at once gives rise to a new set of questions, for example, was the man Mukathe also the owner and manager of the workshop – or even a painter himself – or did he merely provide manpower in the shape of Kape? Most probably we shall never know.

The period covered by the activity of the workshop is generally considered to be the last quarter of the sixth century or a little less and the first few years of the fifth century BC. This date was reached by dating the finds accompanying the vases found in excavations and by stylistic comparisons, mainly with Tarquinian tomb painting, the later of the so-called Pontic vases and, of course, imported Greek, mostly Athenian pottery.³² The fact that many of the motifs and the ways of representing them recur in all these categories should not be taken as proof of the dependence of one categ-

15. Leipzig T 3309. Courtesy of the Antikenmuseum der Karl Marx-Universität, Leipzig.





16. Vatican 240, (after Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Pl. 23).

ory on another but rather as expressions in different media of the same cultural climate.³³

The dating of individual vases or even stages of development in the workshop is, however, far from certain. The difficulty of dating vases on subjective, stylistic criteria alone is at once evident from the fact that few vases seem to occupy the same position in the lists of different scholars. Beazley placed the vase in London showing athletic games at the beginning of his list,³⁴ stating only that it was a masterpiece, and seemed to regard the rest of the production as steadily deteriorating. Mangani sees at the beginning a strong, Ionic influence, later replaced by an Atticizing trend evident in the kind of vase Beazley placed at the beginning.³⁵

It was very likely the very personal way in which Beazley looked at vases that made him into the expert that he was and it was presumably the way the Etruscan painter once meant his vase to be looked at. Nevertheless, as a means of dating, it leaves something to be desired. Opinions of this sort tell us something about the taste of our own times but very little about the vases themselves. No doubt many, like Beazley, think nothing of the "simple and monotonous" vases of the Würzburg kind, compared with the elaborate and careful decoration on the vases of the Florence kind, while quite as many probably prefer the more originally Etruscan vases of the Würzburg kind to the "not quite successful imitations of Athenian vases" represented by the Florence vase. Whatever reasons Beazley had for placing the vases as he did, he has not stated them

and for the moment we may do better to accept the state of affairs suggested by Mangani. It may even turn out that vases now placed before or after each other are more or less contemporary but are the works of different painters or result from different degrees of carefulness on the part of one painter.

Of the vases in Stockholm, the amphora may probably be placed somewhere in the middle of the production of the workshop; there is a certain tendency towards the monotony of an often repeated motif, but it still retains not a little of the verve of the early Etruscan, black figure. The hydria should be slightly later, being probably an imitation of the kind of vase that Mangani places towards the end. The arrangement of the folds of the garments in long, vertical lines with short, transverse lines between them seems to be late.³⁶

The workshop was probably at Vulci, as is indicated by the fact that most of the vases have been found there, as well as by the many features shared with contemporary Vulcian bronzes.³⁷ The influence of the large amount of Athenian vases imported to Vulci is also obvious. Vulci had, at least since the last few

17. Vulci 76104. Courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria Meridionale.



decennia of the seventh century BC, been the leading centre for the production of decorated vases and contained the workshops of such famous Etrusco-Corinthian painters as the Bearded Sphinx Painter, the Pescia Romana Painter, the Feoli Painter and, during the first half of the sixth century, the Rosoni and Olpai Groups.³⁸ The introduction into Italy of the proper black-figure technique led to the beginning of the activity of the Pontic workshop, which, together with the Micali Painter's workshop, continued the ceramic tradition at Vulci in the second half of the sixth century BC.³⁹ The exact relationship between these two black-figure workshops has not been sufficiently demonstrated.⁴⁰ The Micali Painter was followed by the Praxias Group with their pseudo-red figures, i.e. vases with red superimposed on the black background.⁴¹

Animal friezes are among the most common motifs on the vases from the Micali Painter's workshop. The most common animals are birds and beasts of prey. The birds are of several species – swans (?), geese or ducks and a kind of unspecified, smallish bird. The last-mentioned are charmingly inquisitive birds and display a very lively interest in the proceedings on the vases that is perhaps not quite as harmless as we are led to believe; in some cases, their interest seems downright sinister.⁴² Related to these presumably nasty-minded birds are the sirens, which are frequent enough to have induced Dohrn to give their name to the Siren Painter. The predominant beasts of prey seem to be lions and sphinxes, often in female form.⁴³ To the Etruscan painter, who was probably as unfamiliar with the one sort as with the other, the lions must have seemed almost as frightening as the sphinxes. These beasts and monsters were not placed on the vases solely to produce a pleasing effect but were a reality to the Etruscans, as were the dragons to the men and women of a later time, and a frightening reality at that.⁴⁴

The Greek repertory is full of strange, mixed creatures, among which the sphinxes and sirens form a close unit representing very much the same thing.⁴⁵ Both have animal bodies and only the heads are human, i.e. they have the intelligence of a human being combined with the strange and secret knowledge of the animal world.⁴⁶ Familiar with both worlds, they have all knowledge, the strangest and most secret part of which is knowledge of death.

Several ideas seem to have gone into the making of the classic sphinxes and sirens. One seems to have been the belief of the ancient Greeks in the existence of enigmatic, death-bringing and probably amorphous powers.⁴⁷ Their shape was an import from the Orient, at once adopted as suitably embodying these frightening and mysterious powers of death. A third component comes from the mythological episodes featuring creatures which were at first probably of unknown shape but at an early stage were associated with the mixed beings introduced from the Orient. These mythical beings, the sirens of Homer and the Theban sphinx,⁴⁸ ended up by so dominating the imagination of the Greeks that their names came to be used for all creatures having the same shapes. Far from all sphinxes and sirens can be interpreted as taking part in a mythological scene and the rest of them must be considered as being in a vaguer way associated with death – as messengers of death and bringers of death, in virtue of their knowledge of the nether world as guardians and guides of the dead – and, as such, most suitable to be painted on a vase destined for a tomb.⁴⁹

The Etruscan painter may have interpreted the sirens and sphinxes taken over from the Greeks in a different fashion, but it is not out of the question that the influence of Athenian vase-painting in formal matters corresponded to a deeper understanding of the special significance of the mixed nature of the sirens and sphinxes.

¹ Apart from those recommended by the AJA, the following abbreviations will be used: SH = J. Sieveking & R. Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, Munich 1912; Dohrn = T. Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus den zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1937; RG = J. D. Beazley & F. Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Città del Vaticano 1939; EVP = J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-painting*, Oxford 1947; Uggeri = G. Uggeri, 'Una nuova anfora del Pittore di Micali', *Numismatica e antichità classiche* (Quaderni ticinesi) 4, 1975, pp. 17–43; Mangani = E. Mangani, 'Due anfore della

scuola del Pittore di Micali a Orbetello', *Prospettiva* 11, 1977, pp. 41–46; FPP = L. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 47:4), Copenhagen 1976. For previous research on the Micali Painter, see Uggeri, pp. 17–18.

Dohrn and Beazley compiled their lists at the same time but independently of each other. Beazley considered that most of the vases were the works of a leading master whom he called the Micali Painter, after one of the first scholars to publish vases of this kind (RG, pp. 76–86). Dohrn divided the vases

between at least six different hands, chiefly the Palaestra Painter and the Siren Painter (Dohrn, pp. 89–128 and 151–157), considered by Beazley to be the Micali Painter at early and late stages, respectively, in the revision of his list of 1947 (EVP, pp. 12–15). See also P. Bocci, *EAA* 4 (1961), pp. 1103–1104, s.v. Micali. A revision and concordance of both Dohrn's and Beazley's lists will be found in Uggeri (pp. 39–43); it comprises 107 vases. Another 27 vases were added by Mangani (pp. 44–45). No. 7 in this list is the same as Uggeri, No. 16 (i.e. the amphora in Stockholm MM 1974:28). To the list can be added a collared vase without handles (Pécs, Musée Janus Pannonius, inv. 51.828.1). On the shoulder, eyes and ivy leaves; on the belly, five large, walking birds. See J. G. Szilágyi, *Bulletin du Musé Hongrois des Beaux-arts* 46–47, 1976, p. 81, Fig. 60.

As we do not know how the workshops functioned, the word "workshop" is here used in a very wide sense, covering the works of the master painter as well as those of the other painters or apprentices in the workshop proper, and it may also occasionally be taken to mean vases made independently outside the workshop but in the style of the Micali Painter.

* Neck amphora MM 1974:28. height 42.7 cm, diameters of mouth and foot 19.9 and 14.8 cm, respectively. Echinus-shaped mouth, fairly straight shoulder, handles with two very shallow grooves, spreading foot. Orange-red slip. Black glaze on the inside of the neck, the mouth (except for the outside next to the neck), the handles (except the inside), the area round the lower attachment of the handles, the lower part of the body, the foot (except for the underside and lower part). Splashes of glaze inside the body. The glaze is occasionally thin but on the body mostly black and glossy. Surface of neck and shoulder partly worn. One handle and part of the foot mended.

Hydria MM 1962:14. Height 42.3 cm, diameters of mouth and foot 18.5 and 14.3 cm, respectively. Torus mouth, double vertical handle with its upper attachment below the rim, two plain, horizontal handles, slightly turned up, spreading foot. Orange-brown slip. Black glaze on the inside of the neck, the mouth, the body (except inside the handles and the front side) and the foot (except the underside and lower part). The glaze is poor and badly applied and does not cover the whole surface. Surface worn and incrustated.

On both vases, the incisions are plentiful and primarily decorative. For the decoration, see below in the text.

* G. Ricci, *Materiali di antichità varia 2. Scavi di Vulci. Materiale concesso alla società Herclé*, Rome 1964, pp. 7–8, No. 76 (tomb 115), (ill.). The vase was No. G VI A 375 in the collection of the King of Sweden. *Antiken* (Nationalmuseum utställningskatalog nr 313), Stockholm 1967, No. 116. R. Bianchi Bandinelli & M. Torelli, *Etruria – Roma* (L'arte dell'antichità classica 2), Turin 1976, No. 100, (ill.), Uggeri, No. 16 (see further, *supra*, n. 1).

* Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue*, 18 June 1962, p. 22, No. 86, (ill.), where it is said to be in the style of the Micali Painter. Mangani, No. 13.

* Uggeri, p. 31. Würzburg 796, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich 1932, Pl. 235, Uggeri, No. 4, (here Fig. 13); Munich 851, SH, Pl. 37, Uggeri, No. 18.

* Very similar is a two-handled hydria in Florence, inv. 4173, C. De Palma, *Testimonianze etrusche*, Florence 1974, p. 209, (ill.), Uggeri, No. 78, (here Fig. 11); Munich 895, SH, Pl. 39, Uggeri, No. 61. The horizontal handles are more turned up. Munich 898A, SH, Pl. 39, Uggeri, No. 69. Also in this case the handles are somewhat different.

* Dohrn, p. 98. Munich 851 (*supra*, n. 5). It has decoration on the neck and shoulder but lacks the encircling band around the belly. Würzburg 796 (*supra*, n. 5). There is no decoration on the neck. London 1938.3–18.1, T. Dohrn, 'Die etruskischen schwarzfigurigen Vasen', *StEtr* 12, 1938, Pl. 55:5, Uggeri, No. 17. It has much the same arrangement but is evidently by another painter.

* It rather resembles the pattern on Munich 896 (SH, Pl. 39, Uggeri, No. 62), which is called "ivy leaves".

* Munich 851 (*supra*, n. 5). The painting is more negligent. The circles denoting the centres of the palmettes on the Stockholm vase are here placed regardless of the palmettes.

* Turin 4652, *CVA Torino* 2 (1969), IV B, Pl. 1:1–2 (Italia, Pl. 1817), Uggeri, No. 38 bis. The lionesses have exactly the same stance as the lionesses on the Stockholm amphora. For the stance on Pontic vases: L. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter. An Etruscan Vase Painter* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 47:2), Copenhagen 1974, Pl. 34; *FPP*, Pl. 48; C. M. Stibbe, 'Pontic Vases at Oxford', *Meded* 39 (n.s. 4), 1977, Pls. 10–11. Cf. also the animals in the fronton in the Tomba dei Tori, L. Banti, 'Problemi della pittura arcaica etrusca: la Tomba dei Tori a Tarquinia', *StEtr* 24, 1955–56, pp. 167–169, Pl. 6.

* Turin 4652 (*supra*, n. 10); Würzburg 796 (*supra*, n. 5) may be compared with the striding lion on Heidelberg E 31, *CVA Heidelberg* 2 (1963), Pl. 57:2 and 4 (Deutschland, Pl. 1092), Uggeri, No. 38 ter. Although the animals are very much alike, one (Würzburg) is attributed by Beazley to the Micali Painter himself and the other to his school (RG, p. 77, No. 3 and p. 81, No. 8).

* Some examples of sphinxes: Munich 895 (*supra*, n. 6), Dohrn, Pl. 6:1; Munich 847, SH, Pl. 36, Uggeri, No. 20. On the latter vase, the wings of the sphinxes are bisected by painted instead of incised lines (to be distinguished from the lines painted between the incised lines on Munich 927 and Vatican 240 (here Fig. 16) (both *infra*, n. 14). Sirens like the sirens on the amphora are easy to find: Munich 851 (*supra*, n. 5); Munich 909, SH, Fig. 145, Uggeri, No. 80; J. G. Szilágyi, 'Due vasi dalla fabbrica del Pittore di Micali', *AntHung* 3, 1949, Fig. 1, Uggeri, No. 14; Leipzig, T 3309–3310, *CVA Leipzig* 2 (1973), Pls. 49:6, 50:1–6 (DDR, Pls. 110–111), Mangani Nos. 9–10; Vulci 64432, M. T. Falconi Amorelli, 'Vasi etruschi a figure nere e figure rosse provenienti da Vulci', *ArchCl* 20, 1968, Pl. 76:2, Uggeri No. 81. The last siren has the same narrow, vertical body as the siren on the amphora. The same narrow bird's body is found on Vulci 76104 (*infra*,

n. 29) (here Fig. 17).

¹³ There are no exact parallels, but both London B 63 (*EVP*, Pl. 3:1, Uggeri, No. 54) and Florence 4139 (M. Sprenger & G. Bartoloni, *Die Etrusker*, Munich 1977, No. 73, (ill.), Uggeri, No. 53) (here Fig. 12) have the same three fields on the neck, shoulder and body. They are both more sophisticated than the hydria in Stockholm.

¹⁴ Fairly similar, from what can be seen in the illustration, are the two sirens on Munich 927, *SH*, Pl. 34, Fig. 168, Uggeri, No. 90. They are surrounded by dot plants in the same way. Rather alike, although more carefully done, is a siren on a fragment in the Vatican, inv. 240 (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco), C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Rome 1925–39, Pl. 23, Uggeri, No. 107 (here Fig. 16). Her wing, bisected, differs from the wing of the siren on the hydria in Stockholm by continuing down to the belly line.

¹⁵ The same, large, clumsy kind of bird is found on an amphora in Milan, *CVA Milano*, Coll. "H.A." 2 (1972), IV B, Pl. 2:1–3 (Italia, Pl. 2283), Mangani, No. 4. The smaller bird is an enlarged version of the little birds playing the part almost of filling ornaments in the populated scenes (see *infra*, n. 42 and Uggeri, p. 37). Two birds follow each other in the same way on a shoulder on London 1938.3–18.1 (*supra*, n. 7).

¹⁶ Young men tend to remove their clothes when they step on to the Micali Painter's vases. Clothed young men, walking ceremonially occur on the hydria 4139 in Florence (*supra*, n. 13).

¹⁷ Munich 896 (*supra*, n. 8). More commonly, the ivy leaves have two tendrils growing out at the back, as on Florence 4173 (*supra*, n. 6), London B 63 (*supra*, n. 13) and Vatican 237 (*infra*, n. 27).

¹⁸ This type of negligence seems typical of the whole production of the workshop. The eyes of the birds, of one of the young men on the hydria and of one of the lions on the amphora are omitted. The sirens' legs are missing on the amphora in Budapest (Szilágyi, *AntHung* (*supra*, n. 12). See also Uggeri, p. 30.

¹⁹ Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli (*supra*, n. 3). A. Giuliano, 'Osservazioni sulle pitture della Tomba dei tori', *StEtr* 37, 1969, p. 24, n. 6. For examples of sketches on vases from the Micali Painter's workshop, see Munich 842 and 894, *SH*, Figs. 116–117 and 135–136, respectively, Uggeri, Nos. 26 and 58. Concerning a preliminary sketch on an Etruscan, black-figured vase not by the Micali Painter, see E. von Mercklin, 'Etruskische Keramik in Hamburgerischen Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe', *StEtr* 11, 1937, pp. 368–369, Figs. 5–6.

²⁰ The two following manners of drawing are consistently found in all the production of the workshop. Because of the slipshod manner in which these vases are painted, one or two details do not suffice to assign vases to different painters; sometimes details may be differently rendered on the same vase. Generally, this is quite obviously the result of carelessness. The general trend to which the vase belongs is, however, most often clearly recognizable.

²¹ *Supra*, n. 6. The clenched left fist, the drawing of the breast

and hair and the dot plant in the field are all features that prove the relationship between the two vases.

²² *EVP*, p. 12; *RG*, p. 77; Bocci (*supra*, n. 1). Vases attributed to the leading painter by one scholar are considered apprentice work by the next and vice versa. No one has openly declared the principles by which he or she distinguishes the work of the leading painter from that of the others; it seems mostly to be a process of intuition.

²³ *Supra*, n. 1.

²⁴ Dohrn, pp. 125–128. The outstanding vases of this kind are the hydria 4139 in Florence (*supra*, n. 13), the amphora B 64 in London (*EVP*, pp. 2–3, Pl. 2–2A, Uggeri, No. 1) and the amphora in Ticino published by Uggeri (*supra*, n. 1). These three vases form a close unit, both on account of their motifs and not least their floral decoration. Cf. also the hydria that was once on the Berlin market, Dohrn, Pl. 6:2, Uggeri, No. 57.

²⁵ *Supra*, ns. 5 and 13.

²⁶ Branches and trees are well-known features of late Athenian, black-figured vases, like those of the Leagros Group. Dot plants also occur on vases by the late Pontic Tityos Painter (*FPP*, p. 48).

²⁷ Vatican 237 (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco), Albizzati (*supra*, n. 14), Pl. 23, Uggeri, No. 72.

²⁸ Leipzig T 3309 (*supra*, n. 12) and Vatican 240 (*supra*, n. 14).

²⁹ Vulci 76104, Mangani, Fig. 13, No. 8.

³⁰ Dohrn, p. 97.

³¹ G. Colonna, 'Firme arcaiche d'artefici nell'Italia centrale', *RömMitt* 82, 1975, pp. 186–188, Pl. 52:1.

³² Dohrn, pp. 118–119; Mangani, pp. 43–44; *FPP*, pp. 50–52.

³³ So Banti (*supra*, n. 10), pp. 178–179; G. Camporeale, 'Pittori arcaici a Tarquinia', *RömMitt* 75, 1968, p. 34; *FPP*, p. 49; Mangani, p. 43.

For similar renderings of wings, see Banti, pp. 174–175, Pl. 6a and c (Tomba dei Tori: the wings are alternately dark and light in a chess-board pattern); F. Roncalli, *Le lastre dipinte da Cerveteri*, Florence 1965, p. 79, n. 3, Pls. 9–10. This terracotta plaque is compared with the Caeretan hydriae, the influence of which on the Micali Painter was recognized by Dohrn (pp. 111–114). On Pontic vases: *FPP*, Pl. 45b.

For hair streaming out behind the back, see Banti, p. 175; *FPP*, Pls. 15–16 and 33. For the stances of animals, see *supra*, n. 10.

³⁴ *RG*, p. 77; *EVP*, pp. 2–3.

³⁵ Mangani, pp. 42–43.

³⁶ Mangani, p. 42. The same kind of folds occur on Vatican 91 (Raccolta Guglielmi), *RG*, Pls. 29–30; *EVP*, Pl. 3:3–4, Uggeri, No. 11). The vase is considered late by Beazley (*RG*, p. 77) and by Uggeri (p. 38).

On the vases considered early by Mangani (pp. 42–43, n. 17), the incisions of the breast differ from those on the vases generally considered late. On the early vases, for example Hamburg 436 (von Mercklin (*supra*, n. 19), Pl. 35, Uggeri, No. 35) and Vatican 239 (Albizzati (*supra*, n. 14), Pl. 24, Uggeri,

No. 55), the breast is indicated by two intersecting semicircles. On the later vases, i.e. the majority, including the hydria in Stockholm, the breast is indicated by two rather angular, independent semicircles connected by a small, hooked line.

³⁷ Szilágyi, *AntHung* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 45; Uggeri, p. 38; Mangani, pp. 43–44.

³⁸ J. G. Szilágyi, 'Considerazioni sulla ceramica etrusco-corinzia di Vulci: risultati e problemi', in *La civiltà arcaica di Vulci e la sua espansione* (Atti del 10 Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici), Florence 1977, pp. 49–63. Vulci may already have been a centre of ceramic production during the eighth century BC. See E. La Rocca, 'Crateri in argilla figulina del Geometrico Recente a Vulci. Aspetti della produzione ceramica d'imitazione euboica nel Villanoviano avanzato', *Mél-Rome* 90, 1978, p. 514.

³⁹ The location of the Pontic workshop at Vulci is not proved but is strongly indicated. See *FPP*, pp. 48–49. It is possible that the Paris Painter originated from Caere (Hannestad, *The Paris Painter* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 34.

⁴⁰ According to Hannestad (*FPP*, p. 49), the Micali Painter did not come from the Pontic workshop, nor was he probably trained in it. Szilágyi ('Considerazioni' (*supra*, n. 38), p. 63) maintains, on the evidence of a vase not illustrated, that the Micali Painter was indeed trained in the Pontic workshop.

⁴¹ Szilágyi, *ibidem*.

⁴² *RG*, p. 83 (Vatican 91 (*supra*, n. 36) and London B 61, Uggeri No. 73).

⁴³ Uggeri, p. 34, n. 42. It can hardly have been by chance that the Greeks came to prefer the female forms of sphinx and siren. When they were introduced from the Orient, both sexes were represented. It is possible that females, being "closer to nature and reputedly more vicious of temperament", better represented the dangers of a hostile nature.

⁴⁴ H. P. Isler, 'The Meaning of the Animal Frieze in Archaic Greek Art', *Numismatica e antichità classiche* (Quaderni ticinesi) 7, 1978, pp. 7–28. The animals or monsters embody the frightening powers of nature that are beyond the control of man.

⁴⁵ Above all H. Walter, 'Sphingen', *AuA* 9, 1960, pp. 63–72; R. Hampe, *Ein frühattischer Grabfund*, Mainz 1960, pp. 62–66; N. M. Verdelis, 'L'apparition du sphinx dans l'art grec aux 8^e et 7^e siècle avant J. C.', *BCH* 75, 1951, pp. 1–37; H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx. Geschichte ihrer Darstellung von dem Anfängen bis zum Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 1977; G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig 1902; E. Kunze, 'Sirenen', *AthMitt* 57, 1932, pp. 124–141; E. Buschor, *Die Musen des Jenzeits*, Munich 1944; J. R. T.

Pollard, 'Muses and Sirens', *CR* 66, 1952, pp. 60–63; B. Candida, 'Tradizione figurativa nel mito di Ulisse e le sirene', *Studi classici e orientali* 19–20, 1970–71, pp. 212–253; H. Gropengiesser, 'Sänger und Sirenen. Versuch einer Deutung', *AA* 1977, pp. 582–610.

⁴⁶ In a general way, it seems that the larger the human part, the less frightening the creature. The antics of a satyr, who represents in a way the base part of human nature, are looked upon almost with envy and gives but a small, titillating fright. A centaur is already more unpredictable and as frightening in his powerful strength as a natural phenomenon, against which a mere human being is defenceless. A sphinx or a siren, those enigmatical creatures, are as frightening and as final as death.

While the Greeks thus seemed to accept almost as natural an animal body with a human head, the oppositè, i.e. a man with an animal head, like the Minotaur, seems to have been regarded as a downright monstrosity.

⁴⁷ For example the κῆρες, see Pollard, p. 62; Walter, pp. 66–67; Hampe, p. 64 (all *supra*, n. 45).

⁴⁸ Homer, *Od.* 12:39–54 and 181–200. The element of folk-tale is strong in the story of the sirens. Beautiful female creatures entice human beings to their deaths by the beauty of their singing – a death in and by beauty. It is far from strange that they came to be associated with birds, the most obvious characteristic of which is, after all, their singing, although the connection was so obscure to some vase painters that they put instruments in the hands of the sirens (Gropengiesser (*supra*, n. 45), Fig. 27). The fact that the hands were to hold the instruments was lost on the Etruscans – and maybe not on them alone – and they often depicted sirens with arms but without instruments.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 326. The monster was first called Phix, probably after the mountain Phikion in the neighbourhood of Thebes. The name was later changed to Sphinx, probably under the influence of the Greek word for throttle (σφιγγω) (*RE*, Zweite Reihe [R-Z] 6 (1929), col. 1703, s.v. sphinx).

⁴⁹ The sphinxes and sirens became in time nobler and more compassionate. To this growing meekness of spirit corresponded a change in outward shape. Larger and larger parts tended to be human, especially in the case of the sirens; in Roman times, most often only the wings, feathered legs and birds' feet recalled the former, human-headed bird of prey (Kunze (*supra*, n. 45), Figs. 13–17). This phenomenon seems to be more generally applicable; the most sensational example is perhaps the cherub, which, beginning as a complex and mysterious creature of great terror, developed into a small, chubby boy (Ezekiel, chs. 1 and 10).

An Apulian Kantharos

Veronika Nissen

Among the objects bought by the late King Gustaf VI Adolf which are now, in accordance with the King's will, in the collections of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet is the red-figured, Apulian kantharos (MM 1974:24, formerly GVIA 118) here published (Figs. 1–3). Nothing is known about its provenance.

Description

Dimensions. Maximum height 0.255 m. Height to the rim 0.213 m. Rim diameter 0.150 m. Maximum width between handles 0.240 m.

Material, execution and state. The clay is pale brownish-yellow and, except for the figures, is almost completely covered with a dull, black glaze. On the foot, where the glaze has been put on very sparingly, the ground-colour is partly seen. Both sides of the bowl are painted with figures. Narrow strips have been left unglazed on the bowl opposite the handles and continue up onto part of their insides. A narrow band has also been left unglazed under the rim on the biga side.

The vase is built on a broad foot with three degrees. The stem has a moulding just below the middle. It continues into the bowl, which starts with a straight part and is then rounded out towards the rim. Two vertical, strap handles are attached to the lower part of the bowl; they loop over and connect with the rim and finally bend back on themselves in a kind of bridge or strut. A pair of sculptural, female masks overlook the bowl, where the handles are attached to the rim. The hair of the masks is gathered into what looks like a shell (a Phrygian cap?). The lower part of the handles has clay spurs.

The shape of the kantharos approximates most

closely to Caskey and Beazley's form A 2,¹ but there are certain deviations from the Attic pattern, viz. the three degrees of the foot, the moulding, instead of a ridge, on the stem and the way the spurs on the handles have developed into leaf-like growths. This shape is found in rare cases in southern Italy in kantharoi dating from the early fourth century BC and was revived later on, mostly for funeral purposes. It was in common use in late Apulian fabrics.²

The vase has been mended in several places and the joints have been painted over. The features of the head seem to have been changed, as the eyes have eyelashes, which is against all practice. The hair seems also to have been re-painted later and the neck has been made to look taller and narrower than was intended by the original painter. The masks have been partly concealed by clay.

Decoration. A. A biga with white horses and a charioteer. The charioteer wears a long, billowing chiton, a sakkos³ with ribbons sticking straight out, a stephane and bracelets. The sakkos and the jewels and some lines suggesting a breast make it probable that the charioteer is a woman. She has a whip in her right hand and the reins in her left. The sakkos, whip, stephane and bracelets are white, with a few yellowish-red lines on the sakkos. The rest of the body is red with black lines. The red is slightly darker than the red ground in other places. The chariot and horses are white, with yellowish-red lines for the anatomical details and the harnesses. The white colour on the legs does not quite fill out the space left free from black. The ground lines are shown by rows of white dots. To the right of the head of the near horse is a rosette with eight petals. Another rosette with six petals is to be found between the head of the charioteer and the whip.



!. MM 1974:24.



2. MM 1974:24.

B. *A winged bust*. The head is in three-quarter view. The face and neck are painted very thinly with white. The features of the face and the part of the hair nearest to the face and neck are yellowish-red. The rest of the hair is polychrome (black, reddish-brown, greyish-brown, white). The wings are painted in black and white, though some white dots do not have the clean, white colour of the others. The shoulders are also white and seem to grow up from the ground, which has two slanting, black lines (indicating volutes or petals?).

Bibliography. This kantharos was exhibited in the 1967 exhibition at the National Museum in Stockholm entitled "Antiken" (catalogue no 313, item no. 264).

Iconographical comments

The charioteer. Her dress and bearing agree with the classical tradition. It is unusual in Apulian vase-pain-

ting to have a female driver who is not shown as Nike with wings. There is, however, a model on the neck of the Underworld krater (Munich 3297), which is connected with the Darius Painter, who is the predominant figure in the developed "Ornate" style of the late fourth century. On the Underworld krater, the charioteer is encircled by ornaments that are suggestive of wings.⁴

The horses. The way of drawing horses shows a distinct development in Apulian vase-painting. The Sisyphus Painter (late fifth century) draws them with relatively slender bodies and long, thin legs, as on the column krater London F 174.⁵ In an early vase, like the volute krater London F 279 depicting the death of Hippolytus,⁶ the Darius Painter sticks to this mode of painting, but in later vases, like the Patrokles krater in Naples (Heydemann 3254)⁷ and the Chrysippos krater in Berlin (Staatliche Museen in Berlin 1968.12),⁸ his horses are much more like those on MM 1974:24. The short forelegs on the Chrysippos krater are especially noteworthy. The heads on a privately-owned fragment of a vase by the Darius Painter⁹ also recall the heads on MM 1974:24, as does the straddling pose of the hind-legs on a scene showing Bellerophon on the Darius krater in Naples (Heydemann 3253).¹⁰ The Darius Painter, however, draws more slender bodies and longer, extended legs than the painter of MM 1974:24.

On two even later vases, the oinochoai London F 237 and F 238,¹¹ the likeness to MM 1974:24 is almost complete. Both these oinochoai show mythological scenes with quadrigas. Here the horses have the same bellies, though a little more rounded, the manes are painted in the same manner and the legs have the same pose as on MM 1974:24.

Lastly, I have found one kantharos (Lecce 850)¹² with a biga in which the horses are so like those on MM 1974:24 that they must have been made by the same painter or workshop (Fig. 4).

The rosettes. Rosettes are often used to fill up the backgrounds on late-Apulian, red-figured vases. They are also an ordinary decoration on the necks of the larger vases and are frequently drawn as garlands. The rosettes are very much alike, with six or eight petals. Sometimes there are also small leaves or just three dots instead of leaves.

An interesting detail is that the position of the rosettes on MM 1974:24 corresponds with the position of the rosettes¹³ in the biga scene on Lecce 850.



3. MM 1974:24

The bust. Heads and busts are common motifs on the Apulian vases. I have, however, found only one vase with exactly the same kind of head as on MM 1974:24, namely, on a kantharos from the Musée Vivenel, Compiègne 1063¹⁴ (Fig. 6). There is some likeness to the female head in a flower calyx on the neck of a volute krater in the British Museum, London F 284, which shows the influence of the Darius Painter's work on an artist of the next generation.¹⁵ It is also interesting to compare it with a head in three-quarter view with short hair that rises from a calyx of leaves in the field above the female charioteer on the Munich Underworld krater (cf. note 4).

I find it difficult to decide whether the bust on MM 1974:24 represents a man or a woman, though I spontaneously think of it as male. In the catalogue to the National Museum's exhibition entitled "Antiken", A. Andrén describes it as female, as does M. Flot in writing of the bust on Compiègne 1063 (cf. note 14). On the other hand, the Musée Vivenel has stated in a letter to me that G. P. Woimant, who has made a study of the vases in the museum,¹⁶ is of the opinion that it represents Eros.

Eros appears very often on the late-Apulian, red-figured vases. He is usually hermaphrodite, with a female head, head-dress and jewels, and is somewhat corpulent. His special role is to deliver the sacred, mortuary paraphernalia to the tomb.¹⁷ The flying Eros on the other side of Compiègne 1063 (Fig. 7) is a typical example. The small vases of the late period often have female heads, which may represent Nike when placed between wings but may also represent this hermaphrodite Eros.¹⁸

Male and female heads may also look very much alike in other contexts than this Eros-Nike situation. A. Cambitoglou points out that the female faces in three-quarter view depicted by the Darius Painter look very much like men's faces, as with Artemis and Apollo on the Darius krater.¹⁹ Typical details are the lines indicating wrinkles on the neck and the short, curly hair. These features are also found on MM 1974:24.

The fact that the bust on Compiègne 1063 is definitely placed on a volute, indicating a leaf or flower calyx, points to the possibility that the slanting lines on MM 1974:24 are the beginning of a calyx.²⁰ This would mean that the bust on MM 1974:24 is part of a common Apulian tradition with heads rising from a vegetable calyx, out of which grow tendrils and flowers, as on the above-mentioned London F 284.²¹



4-5. Lecce 850, Museo Provinciale "S. Castromediano"



The wings. The type of wings that is represented on MM 1974:24 is characterised by black fields with white dots, long, narrow quills, also with dots and with a bend in the upper part, and by the careful painting. It is found in several variations on the Darius krater. It is very common and lives on in the generation after the Darius Painter with only small changes.

The wings on MM 1974:24 approximate very closely to the wings on the bust of Compiègne 1063. The only difference is that there is only one line of white dots on the black field of the latter vase.

Date and place of production

In going through the fascicules of *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* which contain most southern Italian, red-figured vases, I have found two kantharoi that are so like MM 1974:24 that they must belong to the same group. They are Lecce 850 (Figs. 4–5) and Compiègne 1063 (Figs. 6–7), both mentioned above. The Compiègne vase has a winged bust painted on it that is very like the bust on MM 1974:24 and a flying Eros. Lecce 850 has a biga scene with horses that are more or less the same as the horses on MM 1974:24 and on the other side an ephebe and a girl.²² Unfortunately, these vases do not help to fix the date of the production of MM 1974:24, as they were not scientifically excavated.

Of more interest, as regards dating MM 1974:24, is the reconstruction of the contents of two tombs in Canosa made by A. Oliver, Jr. (cf. note 2). In tomb A, there were, among other things, two oinochoai with quadriga scenes (now in New York),²³ one oinochoe with a female head and four kantharoi. The quadrigas are driven by Nike and led by Eros. Both the horses and the wings of Nike and Eros recall MM 1974:24. One of the kantharoi, which is now in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford G 307),²⁴ has a scene with a certain likeness to that with the ephebe and girl on Lecce 850. An interesting detail is that the woman on Oxford G 307 has exactly the same sakkos as the charioteer on MM 1974:24 with the same (projecting) ribbons, which I have not found on other vases. Oliver places the Canosa tomb in the last quarter of the fourth century BC.

The date of MM 1974:24 can also be estimated by comparing it with the two oinochoai London F 237 and F 238. As I have mentioned earlier, the horses on these oinochoai are very much like the horses on MM 1974:24. The two oinochoai have been dated to the



6–7. Compiègne 1063, Musée Vivenel, Compiègne – clichés G. P. Woimant



were produced has not been sufficiently looked into, but Taranto seems to have been the main production centre. Canosa and Ruvo have also been mentioned.²⁵ A. D. Trendall supposes that London F 237 and F 238 were made in Canosa. Lecce 850 was found there, while Compiègne 1063 comes from Basilicata, the part

close of the fourth century (cf. note 11).

The question where the Apulian, red-figured vases of ancient Lucania bordering on Apulia. Oxford G 307 comes from Canosa. In view of this, it seems most probable that MM 1974:24 is also from Canosa, though that must remain a hypothesis so far.

¹ L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vol. I, London 1931, Fig. 13, p. 15, and Vol. II, Boston 1963, p. 52 and Pl. 85, 1–2.

² M. Borda, *Ceramiche apule*, Bergamo 1966, p. 47; A. Oliver, Jr., The Reconstruction of two Apulian Tomb Groups, *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 5, Berne 1968, p. 9; A. D. Trendall, *South Italian Vase Painting*, 2nd ed., London 1976, Fig. 2.

³ There seems to be a certain disagreement about the difference between sakkos and kekryphalos. I have followed A. D. Trendall, who calls a covered head-dress a sakkos and an open one a kekryphalos. See, for example, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Vol. II, Città del Vaticano 1955, pp. 138–139 and Pl. 37 e–f.

⁴ M. Schmidt, *Der Dareios Maler und Sein Umkreis*, Münster 1960, Pl. 20. On the Darius Painter, see M. Schmidt and A. D. Trendall, "Three Apulian Kraters in Berlin", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 12, 1970, and Trendall 1976 (*supra*, n. 2), p. 21. Trendall has also treated the Munich Underworld krater in *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*, 2nd ed., Sidney 1948, p. 325.

⁵ Trendall 1976 (*supra*, n. 2), Pl. 5.

⁶ Trendall 1970 (*supra*, n. 4), Fig. 15 a, and 1976 (*supra*, n. 2), Pl. 9.

⁷ Schmidt (*supra*, n. 4), Pl. 12.

⁸ Trendall 1970 (*supra*, n. 4), Fig. 4 a.

⁹ Schmidt (*supra*, n. 4), Pl. 9.

¹⁰ Often illustrated, for example, in Schmidt (*supra*, n. 4), Pl. 5, and Borda (*supra*, n. 2), Pls. 12–14 (colour).

¹¹ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, London 1896, pp. 114–115. See also Oliver (*supra*, n. 2), p. 8, and Trendall 1976 (*supra*, n. 2), pp. 21–22.

¹² CVA, Lecce 2, IV Dr, Pl. 53, 3 and 6.

¹³ In CVA (*supra*, n. 12), they are described as "patere".

¹⁴ CVA, Compiègne, Pl. 22, 1–2.

¹⁵ Trendall 1976 (*supra*, n. 2), Pl. B (colour) and p. 21.

¹⁶ G. P. Woimant, Les vases peints du Musée Vivenel à Compiègne, *Supplément à la Revue Archéologique de l'Oise*, n° 5.

¹⁷ H. Hoffmann, *Tarentine Rhyta*, Mainz 1966, p. 116.

¹⁸ A. Cambitoglou, "Groups of Apulian Red-Figured Vases

Decorated with Heads of Women or of Nike", *JHS* 74, 1954, p. 121. See also K. Schauenburg, "Zur Symbolik Unteritalischen Rankenmotive", *RömMitt* 64, 1957, p. 212.

¹⁹ A. Cambitoglou, *Some Groups of Greek South Italian Vases (Apulian)*, typewritten copy in the British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 1950, pp. 80 ff.

²⁰ Cf. the angle of these lines with the volutes under the siren-like creatures on the loutrophoros with Niobe in Naples (Heydemann 3246), shown in A. D. Trendall's article "The mourning Niobe", *Revue Archéologique*, 1972, p. 310.

²¹ The female heads rising from such a vegetable calyx are abbreviations of the Goddess of Nature, whose power comprehends immortality and who in various places became identified with local divinities and with Demeter, Persephone, Hera and Aphrodite. See E. Jastrow, "Two Terracotta Reliefs in American Museums", *AJA* 50, 1946, pp. 74 ff., and Borda (*supra*, n. 2), p. 47. Trendall also mentions Eileithyia and Aura (op.cit., n. 3, p. 104). See also H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch*, Olten 1961.

²² Prof. Trendall, who has read the study on which this article is based, has confirmed the connection between the vases MM 1974:24, Lecce 850 and Compiègne 1063 and writes: "The kantharos (MM 1974:24) belongs to my White Sakkos Group, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 29 of Vol. II of Trendall and Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*, due for publication towards the end of 1980. The Group is a very large one, comprising well over 200 vases, and includes two or three quite distinct painters. The White Sakkos Painter himself must have been a pupil and close follower of the Baltimore Painter and his vases are characterised by the white sakkos worn by so many of his figures, as indeed on your vase." Prof. Trendall places Lecce 850 among the vases of the White Sakkos Painter and Compiègne 1063 in a subgroup. He also compares them with Oxford G 307 (*infra*, n. 24).

²³ Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.209 and 06.1021.211 (Oliver, op.cit., n. 2, Pl. 3).

²⁴ Oliver, op.cit., n. 2, Pl. 5, 3.

²⁵ A. D. Trendall, *Early South Italian Vase-Painting*, Mainz 1974, p. 23, and N. Degraffi, "The Peoples of Apulia", *Italy's Life*, E.N.I.T. Official Review No. 26, 1961, p. 95.

The Swedish Carthage Excavations

Preliminary Report of the First Campaign, April–June 1979
edited by Bengt Peterson

Introduction

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

In April 1979 Swedish excavations conducted by the Medelhavsmuseet started in Carthage. The background to this enterprise will be sketched here.

In October 1973 the Tunisian Director of Antiquities Azedine Beschouch visited Stockholm together with Mr Jean-Baptiste de Weck from UNESCO in order to try to arouse an interest in Swedish participation in a project backed by UNESCO to save ancient Carthage through archaeological excavations.

In November 1973 Dr Per-Axel Hildeman, the Director of the Swedish Institute for Cultural Relations and Dr Carl-Gustaf Styrenius, the Director of the Medelhavsmuseet, visited Tunisia in connection with the signing of a cultural treaty between Sweden and Tunisia. At the same time an agreement was signed offering Sweden the opportunity to make excavations in Carthage, if funds for the project could be found in Sweden and if Swedish archaeologists were available. The excavations would be undertaken in two central areas of Carthage, partly on the North and North-East slopes of the Byrsa Hill, often considered as the Acropolis of Carthage, partly on one or two sides of the cinema "Le Carthage" along Avenue Habib Bourgiba, between that avenue and the Tunis–La Marsa railway. The last mentioned areas lies in the area between the Byrsa Hill and the ancient harbours of the town.

In April 1975 Professor T. Säve-Söderbergh, Uppsala and Dr Pontus Hellström, then Director of the Swedish Institute in Athens, visited Tunisia on the invitation of the Tunisian archaeological authorities in order to consider the possibilities for Swedish excava-

tions at Carthage. The expenses for the journey to Tunisia were sponsored by the Swedish Institute for Cultural Relations. In their report Säve-Söderbergh and Hellström made the calculation that Swedish participation in the Carthage project would cost around 1,180,000 Swedish Crowns.

When in 1976 the consultative group for Mediterranean archaeology of the Humanities' Research Council met in order to make up a tentative budget for the following eight years for Swedish excavations, and for the study and publication of earlier excavations in the Mediterranean area, it became clear that the Carthage project as presented by Säve-Söderbergh and Hellström could not be included in the financial programme, and thus it was abandoned.

However, already at that time it was clear that the financial support that for many years had been given to Tunisia by the organization SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority) should be gradually reduced and that sooner or later other projects, e.g. in the cultural field, would be greatly welcomed as part of the new "Coopération élargie" programme between Sweden and Tunisia.

In November 1977 the moment had already come, when the Carthage project should be considered an interesting part in the new cooperative relations between Sweden and Tunisia. At that time the Swedish Ministry of Education approached the Director of the Medelhavsmuseet to ask, if he could present a programme for Swedish excavations in Carthage for a total sum of around 500,000 Swedish Crowns. The programme was rapidly presented and was approved by the Ministry, which later on reserved 550,000 crowns for a 3-year excavation programme at Carthage. Thus finally the preparations for the excavations could start.

The sum given by the Ministry to the Carthage pro-

ject was as big as the sum generally given by the Humanities' Research Council for all Swedish archaeological work in the Mediterranean during one year and so this unexpected contribution to Mediterranean archaeology must be welcomed, especially as it gives possibilities to archaeological training in the Mediterranean for Swedish students.

When in May 1978 the consultative group for Mediterranean archaeology of the Humanities' Research Council met, there was an intensive discussion about the Carthage project, but it became in the end clear that the instruction to carry out the project had been given by the Ministry to the Medelhavsmuseet.

In June 1978 the Swedish Director of Antiquities Roland Pålsson and the Director of the Medelhavsmuseet negotiated in Tunis with the Tunisian authorities and a preliminary contract was signed concerning Swedish excavations on the North and North-East slopes of the Byrsa Hill. Three different sites were agreed on, two of which, A and B, were given priority. The excavations were supposed to start in April 1979 and to continue from 1979 to 1981. The definitive contract was later signed, dated to December 8th 1978.

The first campaign started on April 23rd and continued until June 21st 1979. Eleven Swedish archaeologists and specialists, one Danish architect and 28 Tunisian workmen took part in the excavations. The Director of the Medelhavsmuseet was director of the project with Dr Bengt Peterson, the Director of the Egyptian Department of the Museum, as assistant director. Field director was Miss Birgitta Sander. From the Museum Dr Beate George and Mrs Marie-Louise Blennow also participated. Student excavators were Miss Ann-Marie Habbe (University of Uppsala), Miss Charlotte Schiöler (University of Lund), Miss Agneta Strömberg (University of Gothenburg) and Mr Magnus Claesson (University of Stockholm). Surveyor was Mr Åke Olson, Malmö, photographer Major Douglas Kuylenstierna, Ayia Napa, Cyprus, and architect Mrs Cathrine Gerner, Copenhagen.

I wish to thank all who have participated in the excavations as well as all, both Tunisians and Swedes, who have helped to facilitate our work. On the Tunisian side I want to thank Monsieur Azedine Beschaouch, Directeur Général de l'Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art (INAA), Madame Mounira Harbi-Riahi, sous-Directeur de l'INAA and Monsieur Abdelmagid Ennabli, Conservateur en Chef du Site et du Musée de Carthage as well as the most kind, helpful and efficient assistants of Monsieur Ennabli especially

Messieurs Allegue, Gritli, Salah and Trabelsi. I also want to thank Mr William A. Graham, the editor of CEDAC, and all colleagues from the foreign archaeological expeditions for all kindness and good advice.

On the Swedish side I want to thank the Swedish Ambassador Carl-Henrik Nauckhoff and other members of the Swedish Embassy, especially Mr Jan Nordlander, Mr Håkan Damm and Mrs Marianne Limam. Of the SIDA representatives I thank Mrs Annika Elmberg, Mr Börje Wallberg, Mr Bo Wilén and Mr Ahmed Néji.

I also thank the former ambassadors of the Swedish Embassy in Tunis the late M. Giron and O. Ternström and the former secretaries of the Embassy Carl Fredrik Liungman and Tom Engdahl for their never failing interest in the project for Swedish excavation in Carthage and for their continuous supply of information to the Medelhavsmuseet about archaeology in Tunisia and especially in Carthage. Finally I also want to thank Mr Ingvar Karlén and Mrs Annika Hökerberg from the Ministry of Education.

Geodetic and Cartographic Survey

Åke Olson

Abstract. In order to be able to relocate with a high degree of accuracy the topographical positions of the large number of trenches and finds made on the Swedish Archaeological Mission to Carthage, a geodetic and cartographic survey was carried out from April to June 1979. The geodetic survey was based on the Northern Tunisian Grid System (System Lambert). Each trench and each important find were plotted in the coordinates of this system. A map on a scale of 1:500 was compiled, covering the northern and eastern slopes of Byrsa Hill. Later, the geodetic survey was extended and altogether nine excavation sites from the Byrsa Hill to the Tophet were connected to this geodetic system.

Measuring procedure. The preliminary purpose of the work was to supply the Swedish Mission with sufficient geodetic and cartographic material. For this purpose two traverse loops, nos. 1 and 2, were constructed. The starting-point was the astronomical point immediately south of the former cathedral of Saint

Louis at the top of Byrsa Hill at Carthage. As outgoing direction, the top of the dome was used. The co-ordinates of these trigonometrical points and all the trigonometrical points used later were obtained from the Centre d'Études et de Documentation Archéologique de la Conservation de Carthage (CEDAC). These two traverses covered the three excavation sites of the Swedish Mission. From different points on the traverses, grid-networks were set out on sites A and B. A map-sheet system and a profile-sheet system for the trenches, both on a scale of 1:20, were based on these grid-networks. Altogether 62 grid-network points were set out at site A and 21 at site B.

All the traverse points were levelled and also four bench-marks, one at site A, one immediately south of site A and two at site B. The altitude of the astronomical point (56.75) was used as the outgoing height-coordinate. The altitude of this point was obtained from the French Mission. Later, an already established bench-mark was found at the railway bridge 230 m NE of the Carthage-Hannibal station. The altitude of this point (16.936) was obtained from a copy of a map on a scale of 1:2000, Fille 54 N.O., 1958, from the Société Tunisienne de Topographie. A copy of this map was kept at the CEDAC office. The difference in height-system between this point and the astronomical point was found to be 0.11 m. Additions of 0.11 meter should be made to the altitudes on the coordinate list, which is based on the astronomical point, in order to obtain new height co-ordinates based on the point at the railway bridge.

Using the two described traverses as a base, a tachymetric survey was carried out. The northern and eastern slopes of Byrsa Hill and the nearby urban area were mapped. Unfortunately, it was not possible to enter the private gardens in the area. 25,000 square metres were mapped, with an average of one full measured point on each 67 square metres.

The map was drawn on a sheet of polyester plastic (0.60 × 0.80 m) on a scale of 1:500. The dimensions of the drawing area used were 0.40 × 0.70 m (upright). The thickness of the material was 4/1000 of an inch. Most of the landscape details were drawn to scale, but conventional symbols were used for trees, fences and stairs. The poles carrying electrical cables are shown to scale by filled rings or rectangles, but no cables between the poles are shown. The edges of the road surface are shown by a dashed line (0.25/4–4 mm). The centre of a track is shown by a single line of this type. The walls are shown by a double 0.25 mm-line to scale

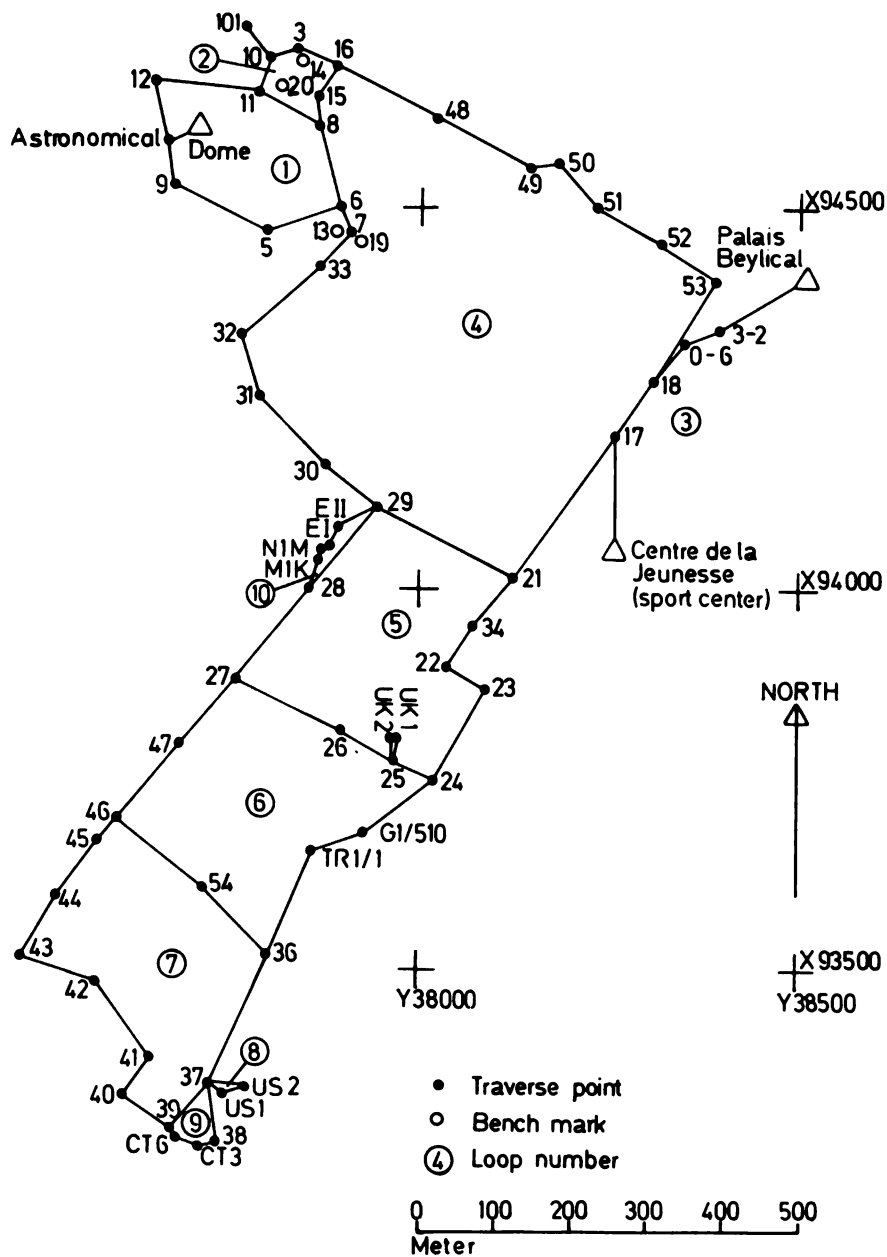
if the width of the wall is 0.5 m or more. The innerline is omitted if this side of the wall is covered with earth. The contour lines are shown by a full 0.18-mm line. The equidistance is 1 m and each fifth contour line is drawn with a 0.25-mm line. The altitude is shown on the higher side of the line. No additional contour lines are shown. Traverse points are symbolised by an open ring with the direction to nearby points shown. The number of the points according to the co-ordinate list is placed near the symbol. Bench-marks are not numbered, but instead their altitudes are shown. They are symbolised by ring with cross inside. No excavation details are shown, except the trenches.

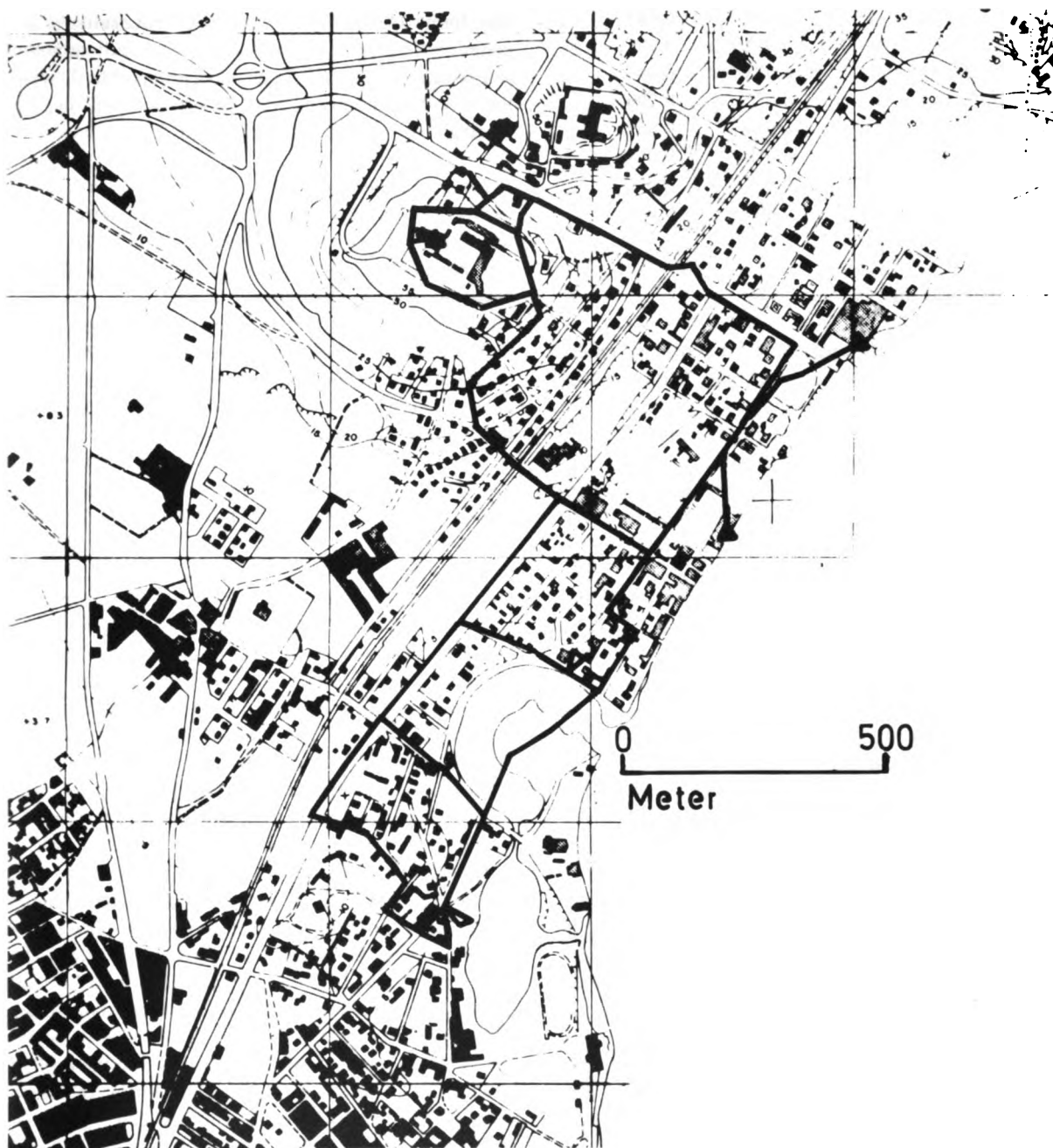
A request from the German Mission via the CEDAC office to the Swedish Mission as to whether the Swedish Mission could help the German Mission with suitable measurements for the connection of the German grid-network to the Northern Tunisian Grid System was acceded to. For this purpose, a traverse was constructed from the trigonometrical point on the Palais Beylical, passing the eastern part of the German excavation area to the trigonometrical point on the Centre de la Jeunesse (the Sports centre).

Later, a similar request came from the Conservateur et Chef de Conservation du Site de Carthage. Measurements were to be carried out to connect all the excavation sites of all the different nations involved. This request was also acceded to, but unfortunately the time was limited and the work was carried out in the area between Carthage and Salambo. A number of newly constructed traverse loops were laid out, covering the area. Altogether seven different grid-networks, excepting the Swedish were connected. In all, more than 6 km of traverses were constructed, with 61 stations. Unfortunately, no trigonometrical point was available in the south.

Adjustment procedure. As described above, the network was constructed in three steps, the first being the two traverses around Byrsa Hill, the second the traverse between the Palais Beylical and the Centre de la Jeunesse, and the third the construction of the rest of the network.

Loop no	Length (metres)	No. of stations	Closing error in angle (grades)	Radial closing-error (metres)
1	697.5	7	0.005	0.028
2	335.7	6	0	0.014





Traverse net work. Swedish Mission to Carthage 1979

3	479.4	6	0.013	0.083
4	1988.5	19	0.014 ^a	0.191
5	1144.2	10	0.025	0.043
6	1154.8	10	0.073	0.200
7	1112.1	11	0.014	0.065
8	122.6	3	0.010	0.019
9	132.9	5	0.007	0.056
10	290.8	6	0.054	0.026
Total	6162.4	61		

^a Loop no. 4 was angle-measured twice.

The closing error in the angle is adjusted proportionally to the number of stations in a traverse. With adjusted angles, the co-ordinate closing error is calculated and the co-ordinates are then adjusted proportionally to the distance between the points, x and y separately.

As a first step, loop no. 1 was adjusted and with point no. 8 and point no. 11 as fixed, loop no. 2 was adjusted. These co-ordinates were immediately used. As a second step, the traverse between the Palais Beylical and the Centre de la Jeunesse was adjusted and the result was handed over to the German Mission and the CEDAC office. Later, when the measurements were extended to the south, the points of these already established traverses were regarded as fixes in the adjustment. The closing error between loops nos. 1 and 2 and loop no. 4 and intersections from the Palais Beylical and the Centre de la Jeunesse and from point no. 9 and the astronomical point towards the top of the dome points to a minor mistake in identification or a slight irregularity of an outgoing co-ordinate. The error is approximately 0.3 m at the top of the dome. Because of this, the closing error in loop no. 4 is completely distributed between point no. 30 and point no. 31 and between point no. 49 and point no. 50. The loops in the southern area were successively adjusted with the co-ordinated of the already adjusted traverses as fixes.

The above described way of adjusting the traverse network is not strict. The work had to be carried out in three steps and, as long as no trigonometrical point is established or available in the south, the plane co-ordinated must be regarded as preliminary.

In the calculation of the levelling, the closing error was adjusted proportionally to the distance between the points. With the altitude of the astronomical point as the outgoing height value, loop nos. 1 and 2 and bench marks nos. 13, 14, 19 and 20 were measured and adjusted. With the height values of bench marks nos. 13 and 14 obtained in this way, loop no. 4 was adjusted.

The loops to the south were then successively adjusted, with the height values of the already adjusted points as fixes. All the loops, except loop no. 7, were found to have a closing error of less than 0.01 m. The closing error of loop no. 7 was 0.021 m.

Instrumentation and establishment of measuring points. For measuring the horizontal and vertical angles of the traverses, a tachymeter (Dahlta 020, VEB Carl Zeiss, Jena) was used. At each station, one full set was observed. A 400-degree system (grades), with decimal (centidecimal grades) was used. As targets, 2-m-high, white and red poles with supports were used. For the detailed tachymetrical survey, the horizontal angle in one half set was measured and the plane distance and altitude difference were measured directly towards a rod. The distance between the traverse points was measured with a calibrated, 100-meter-long, steel tape. The distance were measured with the tape hanging free in the air between the instrument and an additional point on the line between the traverse points. Seldom more than 75 m were measured in one step. The tape was stretched to 10 kilopond with a stretching tool. The measured distance was corrected for tilt, heat expansion and the sag of the tape. No projectional corrections were applied. Each leg of the traverse was measured once. For the levelling, an automatic levelling instrument (Ni 050) from the same manufacturer as the tachymeter was used. The levelling generally followed the traverse-loops. Each loop was measured once.

The points were established in different ways. Thirty-six traverse points were established with galvanized steel pipes, driven vertically or nearly vertically into the ground with a sledge-hammer. The top of the pipe was left approximately 0.1 m below the surface. The pipes varied in length between 0.3 m and 1.5 m, according to the condition of the ground. All the pipes had a diameter of 0.02 m. Nine traverse points were established by driving an iron peg into the asphalt of the road. The top of the peg was left at the same level as the surface of the asphalt. The lengths of these pegs were around 0.15 m and the diameter was 0.01 m. The rest of the points already established marks were used. The altitude points on the Swedish excavation site A (one point) and on site B (both points) were established by turning brass-bolts through horizontal holes in the lower parts of the concrete poles carrying electrical cables. The bolts were fixed with two nuts on each side. The diameter of the bolts was 0.015 m and the length around 0.2 m. The second bench-mark at site A

was established by placing an expanding steel mark in a hole bored in a suitable stone in the ground. The diameter of the steel mark was 0.02 m and it was 0.08 m long. 0.02 m was left above the surface of the stone. The locations of 61 points have been shown on description cards.

Coordinate list

North Tunisian Grid System (System Lambert)

Altitudes above sea level

	X north-south	Y east-west	Z				
Outgoing coordinates							
Top of dome	94 609.02	37 690.37	—	39	93 287.16	37 670.68	5.59
Astronomical	94 568.71	37 662.34	56.75	40	93 334.99	37 606.42	8.06
Palais Beylical	94 413.22	38 507.18	—	41	93 388.09	37 647.55	6.52
Sport centre	94 055.24	38 262.60	—	42	93 485.67	37 569.18	7.62
				43	93 519.00	37 478.08	6.93
				44	93 596.91	37 521.02	6.95
				45	93 668.11	37 579.49	5.95
				46	93 694.17	37 596.67	5.79
				47	93 796.08	37 678.12	5.04
				48	94 615.13	38 015.93	—
Preliminary coordinates							
3	94 709.97	37 831.30	38.88	49	94 549.93	38 138.93	—
5	94 471.36	37 793.64	55.19	50	94 552.08	38 180.31	—
6	94 496.12	37 883.79	51.15	51	94 502.08	38 231.20	—
7	94 463.44	37 900.34	41.24	52	94 455.28	38 310.07	—
8	94 603.62	37 853.95	55.15	53	94 407.66	38 387.08	—
				54	93 608.66	37 711.58	2.62
9	94 519.83	37 679.00	56.03				
10	94 695.25	37 786.36	42.63				
101	94 733.15	37 764.88	—	UK1	93 805.26	37 971.26	—
11	94 648.29	37 771.19	55.47	UK2	93 806.83	37 968.71	—
12	94 658.21	37 641.27	53.46	TR1/1	93 648.14	37 854.17	2.95
				G1/510	93 672.63	37 920.49	2.30
13	—	—	42.33				
14	—	—	39.23	US1	93 328.45	37 737.68	3.75
15	94 646.02	37 863.36	40.84	US2	93 344.66	37 776.43	1.99
16	94 686.32	37 882.96	38.18				
17	94 204.43	38 263.08	5.11	CT3	93 273.37	37 710.32	3.23
				CT6	93 285.56	37 682.87	1.61
18	94 278.37	38 309.47	5.17				
19	—	—	38.01	M1K	94 044.68	37 862.72	7.26
20	—	—	45.86	N1M	94 059.43	37 868.36	7.71
21	94 017.79	38 124.49	4.27				
22	93 896.33	38 036.54	4.12	EI	94 060.95	37 872.28	7.85
				EII	94 079.14	37 885.59	7.86
23	93 869.43	38 085.33	3.86				
24	93 747.30	38 017.49	2.52	3-2	94 344.81	38 396.75	—
				0-6	94 326.22	38 350.34	5.28

Site A

Field Report

Birgitta Sander & Cathrine Gerner

Site A, situated on the northern side of Byrsa Hill and along the Avenue de la République, measured in all about 40×60 m. In accordance with the grid system of Roman streets *cardo* I E crosses the site almost in the centre and *decumanus* I N is situated along the northern boundary.

During the first campaign (April 23 to June 21, 1979), 248 m² of this area were excavated, constituting the central part of the site. Before the excavation, the area was fairly flat and covered mainly with modern building rubbish and some grass and weeds, especially towards the southern boundary, which was the northern slope of Byrsa Hill. Along the Avenue de la République, the northern boundary, was a row of seven palm trees. The eastern and western boundaries were modern walls.

The central part of the area was mapped on a 4×4 m grid system (N-S) connected with the "System Lambert" (see the Surveyor's Report). The first three figures represent the *x* co-ordinate and the following three the *y* co-ordinate. The trenches, or squares, are designated by the south-western corner and the sections are designated by points on the co-ordinate system. Along a 44-m, E-W line on the co-ordinate system (*x* = 700), 10 squares, 4×4 m, were gradually opened up in a chess-board pattern. This pattern was used to obtain as much information about the site as possible without uncovering a coherent area, that is, sounding and excavating at the same time.

The surface-layer (layer 1), 0.1–0.2 m in thickness, consisted mostly of modern building material, rubbish and turf. Under the surface layer, a stirred layer (layer 2) appeared. The thickness varied extremely, being only 0.25 m at the western boundary (*y* = 804) and gradually increasing towards the east. At *y* = 836, layer 2 measured about 3 m. The material in layer 2 was generally of a rather homogeneous composition – dark soil with scattered stones and pebbles, together with modern building debris mingled with ancient remains (see the Find Report). Smaller variations in the composition of the material could be distinguished in layer 2, and these are designated 2*a*, 2*b*, 2*c* and 2*d*. 2*a* is a layer intermingled with sand and pebbles in dark soil.

This layer could be seen at about the same level in the central and eastern parts of the area. Its thickness varied from 0.25 m to 0.45 m. 2*b* is a layer of brick-coloured sand, mixed with soil in the south-eastern corner of square 700 822 with a thickness of up to 0.5 m. 2*c* is the designation of the modern mortar seen in the north-eastern corner of square 700 836 with a thickness of up to 0.35 m. 2*d* is two spots of soot-coloured sand, mixed with soil, on the northern edges of squares 700 804 and 700 812. These spots were 0.6–0.8 m in diameter and 0.2–0.3 m thick.

After examination and removal of layer 2 in the central and western squares, an irregular stone filling appeared. In order to be able to decide, if possible, whether the filling had been made on purpose or was just an accumulation of stones that had fallen down Byrsa Hill, five additional squares in the western half of the area were opened up within the chess-board pattern to form a coherent area.

The stone filling (layer 3) appeared to be most irregular. The stones measured 0.05–0.3 m, with here and there blocks of different sizes and characters (see below). Between the stones, there was yellow sand, except in the central parts, where the dark soil from layer 2 had penetrated about 0.2 m into the stone filling. The yellow sand and the stone filling were the main elements of layer 3. As the thickness of layer 2 increased towards the east, this implied that layer 3, i.e. the stone filling, appeared at only c. 0.3 m below the surface at the western boundary of the area and sloped evenly towards the east, appearing in square 696 836 a little more than 3 m below the surface. The stone filling was most compact between *y* = 808 and *y* = 828 and became considerably more sparse towards the east and west. In square 696 808, a spot of soot-coloured sand was seen, 0.8 m in diameter and with a thickness of up to 0.4 m, which was designated 3*a*. In square 700 820 was seen a "cut" in layer 3, running almost N-S in the central part of the square. This "cut" was 0.65–0.75 m in width and 0.9–1.3 m in depth. It had been dug down into layer 3 and filled with the sandy soil referred to as 2*a*.

Of the big blocks found scattered in the filling, mostly in square 696 808, the majority were quite or almost rectangular, porous, sandstone blocks, probably worked. The biggest one in square 696 808 measured c. $1 \times 0.5 \times 0.7$ m and at one end of the broad side there was a rectangular hollowing out (c. $0.15 \times 0.1 \times 0.1$ m) and remains of plaster. In the same square, 696 808, were also found two almost equal, worked, limestone blocks (c. $0.65 \times 0.5 \times 0.5$ m), one side of which was in



View of site A during excavation. From SE.
(D. Kuylenstierna)

each case almost semicircularly concave, with an even surface. (These blocks may have served as some sort of gutter or the mounting of a cistern.)

In the north-western corner of 696 824, a sort of pavement appeared about 2.85 m below the surface and within layer 3. This pavement (designated 3d) was roughly plastered with almost white plaster to a thickness of 3 cm and had an area of approximately 2×2.5 m. A layer of greyish soil mixed with mortar and charcoal intermingled with a great deal of pottery and

bones (designated 3c) covered the pavement to a thickness of up to 0.35 m. In the northern part of the pavement and clearly visible on the northern boundary of the square was an area (designated 3b) with soot and some smaller stones affected by fire (a hearth?). This area measured about 1.8 m in diameter and was up to 0.55 m in thickness. Behind it, on the northern boundary of the square, something which might have been a part of a wall could be distinguished.

In layer 3, among the stones, a good many worked

marble pieces, most of them architectural fragments, and other ancient remains were found (see the Find Report).

In the north-western part of the area, in between the stones of the filling, walls were recovered, the first only 0.7 m below the surface. The walls are connected with an as yet unclassified building. The directions of these walls correspond to the *cardo/decumanus* system.

In the following description, walls parallel to the

decumanus are given even Roman numerals, and walls parallel to the *cardo* odd Roman numerals. The Roman numerals are combined with Arabic numerals, which are given to each fragment within the same wall (see plan). In general, it may be mentioned that all the walls had served as a source of building materials to be used elsewhere. This is the well-known and characteristic fate of all the architectural structures found at Carthage.

Wall I is parallel to *cardo* I E. The extension towards

Site A, walls in square 700 808. From W. (B. Sander)

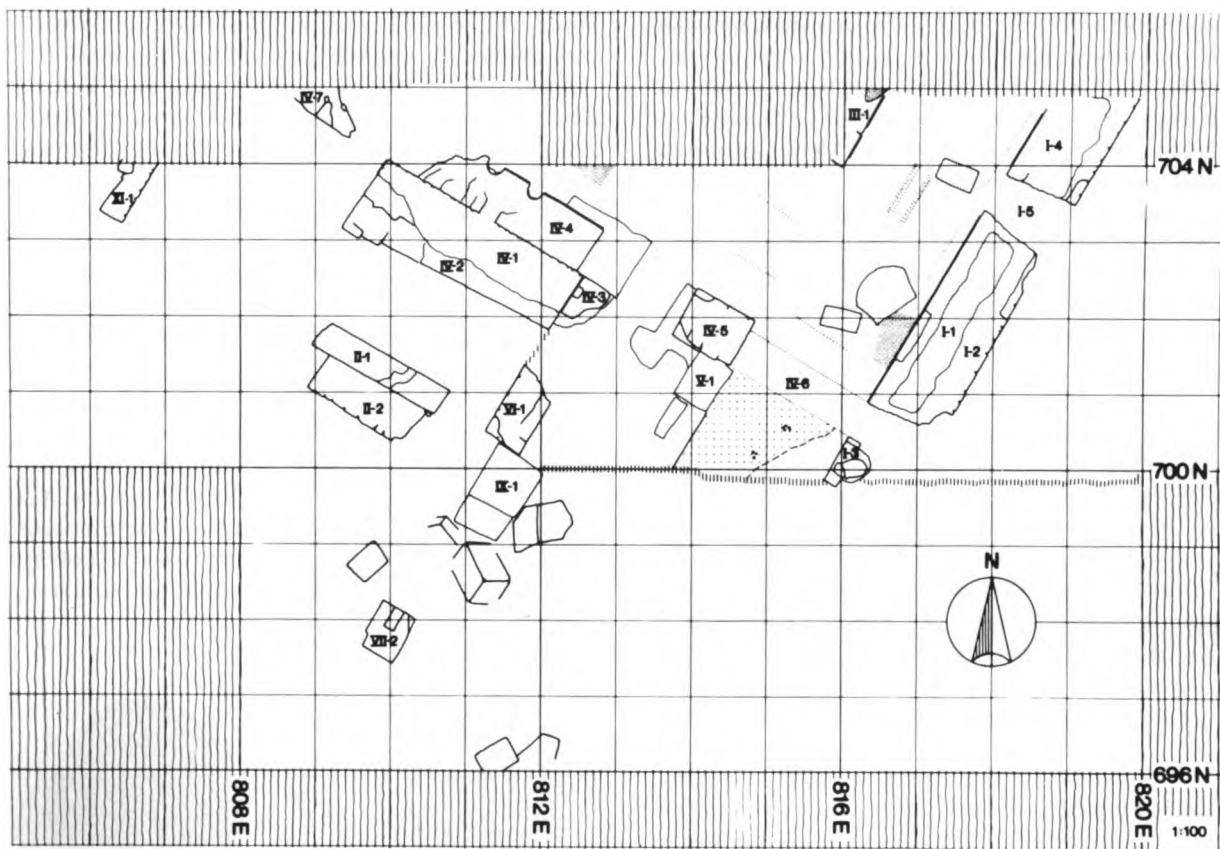


the north is still unknown. East of the wall, there are no traces of a floor. The eastern side of the wall is very dilapidated, due to the removal of the facade stones, but just above the level where the spring campaign ended, there are three courses of worked limestones, indicating that the original thickness of the wall was approximately 1 m. Three wall fragments are visible. The biggest, in square 700 816, consists of at least two different types of masonry, divided by a horizontal line, a joint containing more lime than the others. The upper part is numbered I-1 and the lower I-2. The

western side of the wall, facing a marble-paved room, is plastered and painted. Facing the same room is I-4, the immediate continuation of I-1/I-2, though they are not connected. There is a big gap (I-5) between the two fragments, which is probably the space left after the removal of the sandstone blocks. (Punic sandstone blocks have often been re-used in buildings of later periods.) I-4 is plastered and painted like I-1/I-2. There is the same gap between I-1/I-2 and I-3, a small fragment in which only a part of the western wall-surface is left, and it is without plaster. The floor connected with

Site A, part of facade in square 700 816. From S. (B. Sander)





Swedish mission to Carthage, Site A. Plan of walls seen at the end of first campaign 1979, Scale 1:100

this wall-fragment was a tessellated floor, some parts of which are visible. More than 1 m² of white plaster used as a filling over this floor was recovered. In this layer of plaster, there are clear, negative prints of a removed secondary mosaic. The floor awaits further excavation. The excavated height of wall I is approximately 1.6 m.

Wall IV is the wall parallel to *decumanus* I N which creates the house corner with wall I (the corner itself is missing). The biggest wall-fragment in square 700 808 consists of at least four different constructions, representing different phases of the work. As in wall I, there is a horizontal joint with lime dividing IV-1 and IV-2. Both phases were built in unworked limestone (0.15–0.2 m), even when the stones formed the wall-surface towards the south. Five courses are visible, but above them the facade has been demolished. The excavated height is 1.1 m and at the eastern end 1.65 m. The thickness of this combined construction IV-1/IV-2 varies

from 0.84 to 0.98 m towards the west. At the western end, the structure is different and the thickness is enlarged to 1.08 m. At the end, there are worked surface stones and patches of plaster, indicating an opening in the wall.

A vertical joint shows an extension of the length towards the east (IV-3). On the northern side of IV-1/IV-2, another, clear vertical joint indicates that the wall was enlarged to almost twice its thickness. The impression of this fragment (IV-4) is dominated by two vertical, semi-cylindrical grooves, one with traces of plaster, and the other with traces of mortar, as if it had been filled out. The wall-surface towards the marble-floored room is plastered. The thickness of IV-4 is 0.68 m.

IV-5 is an approximately 0.7-m-high wall-fragment, which must be considered as a continuation of IV-4. There are no traces of plaster. Further east, there are traces at the floor level of removed sandstone blocks or

maybe a threshold (IV-6). It separates the marble and the tessellated floors.

III-1 is a construction which gives the impression of having been a detached bench, 0.55 m high, in the middle of the marble-paved room. A piece of marble indicates that the top side was covered with marble. The sides have patches of plaster. Only a few pieces of the marble-floor are left, but there are clear traces of the rest. A distinct, negative print of a profiled marble piece indicates that many different architectural elements were used over and over again, which is also the reason why almost no marble is left on this floor.

The two walls, nos. II and VII, may together with IV, be the limits of a small room measuring 1.3 m × 2.5 m. Here the floor level has not yet been reached.

Only 0.2 m of XI-1 has been excavated, and it can only be stated that the direction is in accordance with the system.

The walls described give the impression of having been the southern corner of a bigger building, but it must be noted that this complex cannot be interpreted and dated until further excavation, extending towards the north, has been carried out in the next campaign.

Find Report

Bengt Peterson & Beate George

The Find Report surveys the various types of finds without any consideration of their relation to layers. The disturbed character of the upper layers in which the finds were intermingled with modern *débris* makes it unnecessary to investigate the distribution and density of single types of finds. This type of investigation will be useful first after the complete excavation of the lower layers.

The bulk of the finds is clearly of the 4th–6th century AD. Most of them belong to architectural contexts: vaulting tubes, roof tiles, marble fragments of capitals, column bases, decorative marble fragments and inlays, further mosaic fragments and painted plaster fragments. However, there are also earlier objects among the *débris* such as some few Punic and Early Roman fragments of various objects.

Metals

Some 25 small metal objects have been found. They are often only insignificant fragments, mostly of bronze. Iron and lead are also represented. There is only one

object of fine material. It is a bead entirely covered with gold foil, its diameter being only 5 mm (282).

Among the bronze ornaments may be mentioned a fragment of a buckle (781), part of a fibula (?) (1031) and a loop of a chain (612). A pin of bronze bearing traces of mortar may have been used in architectural constructions (1338). Some iron fragments are probably nails (1290).

Coins

Seventy-seven coins have been collected. All of them are of copper or bronze and are heavily corroded. They can be identified only after cleaning. They have been brought to Stockholm for conservation.

Two coins are in such a state that they can be vaguely classified. They belong to the 7th century AD (493, 1480). One of them seems to be of the Emperor Phocas and was probably struck in 606/607 AD (493). In the lot are also clearly recognizable Islamic coins, some of which may be fairly recent.



493



Glass

Of the 73 glass objects recorded, 67 are fragments of thin-walled glass vessels. They are all very insignificant, mostly being body sherds. The fragments of rims, necks, stems and bottoms are so small that plausible reconstructions are difficult.

Among the remainder are two beads and a cosmetic stick. One bead of translucent green glass is tubular and is decorated with short, parallel incisions (8); the other one is almond-shaped, cut in facets and pierced at the two ends (222). The first bead may well be of pre-mediaeval date, while the second is probably recent. The stick (277) is the thick end of an object usually intended for the application of cosmetics, mostly *kohl*. It is of a basic shape used for thousands of years in Egypt and North Africa.

Tesserae of glass are recorded in "Mosaics and tesserae" below.

Bone artefacts

Of the 5 items collected, 3 deserve special mention. One of the first finds was the right-hand side of an ivory plaque, 6.5 cm high, worked in relief on one side (2). Carved in the plaque is a winged figure, presumably an angel. This fragmentarily preserved plaque was once fastened to another object; one complete hole and part of a hole for fixing it are preserved. It is a type of decoration often found on small boxes.



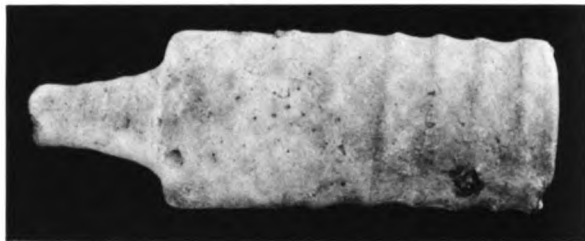
Two objects belong to games. One is a cubical dice (38) made of a tubular bone. It was found in three parts. It has the normal numbering 1–6. The other is a cylindrical gaming piece with a knob on the top (171).



Ceramics

Vaulting tubes. This characteristic feature of Late Roman architecture in North Africa occurred all over the

site. The tubes are, however, mostly only very fragmentary. About 25 kg have been collected. As the average weight of a complete tube was 180 g, this corresponds to about 140 tubes (the often substantial remains of mortar have not been excluded in this calculation). There are only three items which are fairly complete (1, 390, 613). They are all of the common small type, c. 16 cm long. The fragments are also clearly of this small type, with only few exceptions. The tubes from the area correspond to similar tubes found in Carthage and generally dated in the 4th and 5th centuries AD.



Lamps. 224 fragments of lamps have turned up all over the excavation area. Though often of very small size – in many cases, only tiny parts of the rim or the rim and the handle are preserved – nearly all of them can be identified by the decoration motifs – if they exist – as belonging to various Christian types, mainly made of red clay. These are usually dated in the 4th–6th centuries AD. Because of the very disturbed character of the layers, the date cannot be given more specifically.

The best-preserved example (638) is an almost complete, upper part with discus, rim and handle; only the mouth is missing. In the centre of the discus, there is the monogram of Christ. The rim bears a decoration of four petalled rosettes and a flower motif. A few more fragments with a cross monogram on the discus have been found (693, 794, 855, 901).

Exceptional as a rim motif is an angel (855). Otherwise, the usual squares, triangles, concentric circles, hearts, rosettes and twigs are abundantly represented. The animals which occur are a hare (215 on discus), birds (3, 286, 375, 396, 505) and fishes (89, 217; on 331 on the discus).

Two pierced handles were found which are characteristic of pre-Christian Roman lamps (381, 698). A few striated rims may belong to Deneauve's



638



217

(*Lampes de Carthage*) types VII B or VIII B (191, 215) of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Some rim fragments like 505 and 718 have a sort of herring-bone pattern (cf. type VII B) and others rows of small, globular knobs (965, 1181, 1209; cf. type VIII B). Petal-shaped decoration on a relatively wide rim occurs in a few instances (189, 444, 588) and points to a date of about the late 3rd or early 4th century AD (types XI and XII). Of the still earlier lamp types, one fragment of a Hellenistic specimen with a big hole in the middle of the discus was discovered (662).

Miscellaneous objects. A special group is the series of small, round, flat objects. They are often made of fragments of pottery vessels, re-used pieces which have been more or less well rounded. They are most often flat, but there are examples in which the concave, inner wall of the jar is apparent. The outer wall is often

recognizable because of the slip, in many cases, the African Red Slip ware type. In one instance, the object seemed to have been made of the base of a bowl of African Red Slip ware (374) displaying the Christ monogram. Altogether, there are 54 clear examples of this group. They have a diameter of 1.5 to 6 cm, a thickness of 0.6 to 1.6 cm and a weight of anything between 2 and 55 g, although they are most often between 10 and 25 g. These objects may be interpreted as lids of jars, as gaming pieces and, further, as inlays, thus having multifold purposes.

Of terracotta sculpture, there are two small and insignificant examples, one a paw of a lion (393), the other a fragment of a moulded figure (658). A small relief of massive terracotta, h. 6.9 cm, is presumably a weight (463).

Among other objects are three spindle whorls (28, 502, 657), one of them complete (502). Their diameters are between 2.7 and 5.0 cm, their thicknesses 0.6 and 0.8 cm.

Some 30 fragments of roof tiles have been collected, some of them with moulded decorations (e.g. 1241, 1360).



374



502



463

Faience

Only one object of this material has been found (9). It is a round, flat object, with convex sides, diameter 3 cm, thickness 1.6 cm and weight 27 g. There are traces of

very worn, green glaze. It may be a fine gaming piece or a weight.

Stone

Architectural marble fragments. Some 400 fragments of polished marble were recorded. They include both provincial and imported kinds of stone. They are fragments with distinct and definite shapes or simply fragments with polished surfaces. Most of them must have belonged to architectural contexts.

Very common were rather thin, 1–3-cm-thick fragments of various forms which are likely to have been used for inlays in walls or – more likely – as parts of pavements, especially the *opus sectile*. There are often mortar remains on them. Their forms comprise mainly the following: quadrangular, triangular, round, rectangular, rhomboid and trapezoid. There are also several fragments of indistinct shape; the thin plaques of serpentine of Peloponnesian origin and porphyry of Egyptian origin deserve special mention.

Clearly architectural fragments, such as edges, borders, egg-mouldings, taeniae with guttae, etc., are abundant. They are, however, in most cases only very small fragments (379, 701, 722, 726, 759, 818, 820, 852, 862, 880, 897, 922, 926, 947, 968, 973, 985, 989, 990, 1011, 1030, 1110, 1180, 1184, 1240, 1317, 1359, 1378, 1398, 1446).

There are 16 fragments of capitals, all but one of the Roman-Corinthian type (813, 882, 942, 948, 971, 1011, 1106 ?, 1113, 1120, 1145, 1327, 1378, 1390, 1438 ?, 1530). The exception is a very simple capital with a leaf decoration of an early mediaeval type (840). A very fine column base may also be mentioned (941).

Among the miscellaneous fragments, there is one with a sculptured relief of a pine cone (1467).



1011



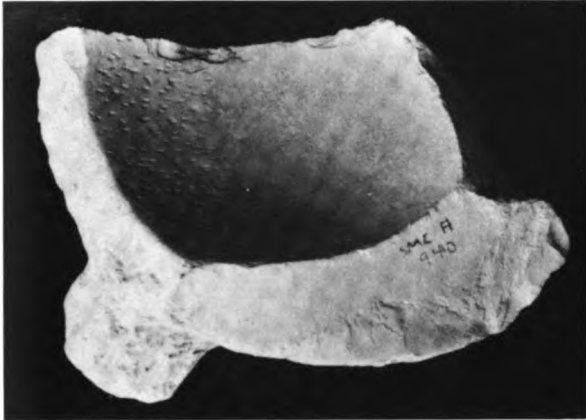
840

1240



941

Special objects. 7 fragments of stone vessels have been recovered. One is the base of an alabaster bowl (30), two are fragments of marble bowls with coarsely worked outside walls (108, 464). One fragment is of Egyptian porphyry (320); it is a part of the base and body of a polished bowl. Three fragments are parts of larger limestone troughs (573, 940, 946).



940

Of special interest is an 18-cm-high fragment of a Punic marble monument (549). It is most probably the rounded top of a stela decorated with the sickle moon in raised relief. It is rare for the sickle to occur on both sides of the monument as in this instance. The fragment may be compared with the two similar ones found on Site B.

549



646

Other stone objects are implements, such as a loom weight of sandstone (449), a whetstone (380) and two fragments of small pestles (169, 1142).

There are five small marble fragments with inscriptions. Only one single or a few letters are preserved, obviously of Latin inscriptions (106, 883, 945, 1061, 1216). But one small piece of marble, 8.7×5.8 cm, has a Latin inscription of six horizontal lines (646); it is, however, a fragment and the lines are very short.

Mosaics and tesserae

A large number of small mosaic fragments were found, as well as thousands of single tesserae all over the site. The predominant material is marble of different colours; only rarely do ceramic and glass tesserae occur. The colours of the stone tesserae are white, black, red, green and yellow and their sizes vary considerably. The mosaic fragments on bedding mortar are always small, comprising some 30–50 tesserae at most. They are mostly of the *opus tessellatum*. No distinct patterns or designs can be clearly identified; when they occur, they seem to be geometric or vegetal e.g. 780, 1295.

Other types, such as ceramic pavement (*opus figlinum*) (1510), chip pavement (499, 1410) and



1295

cement pavement (*opus signinum*) (1280), are also represented by a few specimens.

Painted plaster

158 fragments of painted plaster were found which may mainly derive from walls. The fragments are in most cases very small, the larger ones being only one square decimeter. The colours of the predominantly monochrome fragments are mainly of the earthy tones: various light buffs, browns, blacks, reds, yellows, and rarer greens and blues.

The patterns, when they occur, seem to be vaguely geometrical: they consist of stripes (163, 284), cross lines (1124), lines and dots (1281) and more complicated, curved, line designs (1316, 1328). The line decoration may also be raised in relief (435).

1328



Bone

Both human and animal bones have been found. They are very fragmentary. Apart from a few finds in the top layer, bone finds became frequent in the lower part of layer 3. On a superficial analysis, the animals represented are sheep or goat, camel, cow and dog. From the top layer came three boar's tusks (80, 156, 190). If ancient, they are faunal remains which it is important to record for the Carthage area.

Pottery Report

Marie-Louise Blennow

The major part of the pottery ranges from the 2nd century AD to the 7th century AD, with the exception of some black-glazed, Campana ware sherds, some fragments of *Terra Sigillata* and some coarse, unprofiled sherds which may be Punic.

The Campana ware fragments with the red clay and black, glossy surface seem to belong to the Pre-Campana and Campana A style (4th century to 2nd century BC). The stamped palmettes on the floor fragments 714:1 and 738:1 are typical of this period. 928:1 is a fragment of a vertical, convex foot with rouletting on the inside floor which is found on cups of the Campana A style.



714:1 Stamped palmettes on a floor fragment of Campana ware

Quite a lot of dull, undecorated, black-glazed sherds were found. The clay is fired grey and the greyish-black surface indicates that they are of the Campana C type or local imitations.

A few fragments with the brownish-red, glossy surface and red clay of the *Terra Sigillata* were found. They are to be dated in the 1st century AD. 1261:1 is a plate rim with the relief decoration of a rosette on the outside of the vertical rim. 1128:1 is a tiny fragment with relief decoration, 1073:1 and 336:1 sherds with rouletting.



1261:1 *Terra Sigillata* plate rim with moulded rosette

A large amount of the fine pottery is of the African Red Slip ware (ARS). The forms and decoration imitate the *Terra Sigillata*, but the clay is pinkish-orange and the slip bright orange. The most ancient pieces are to be dated in the 1st century AD and the latest are from the 7th century AD.

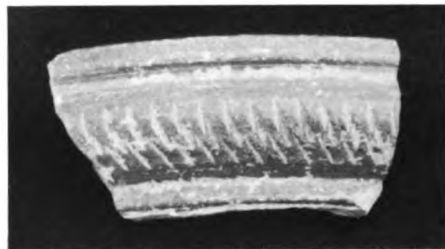
Two fragments belong to a 1st-century type of bowl with curved floor and broad, convex rim decorated with barbotine leaves (355:1 and 531:3).



355:1 Fragment of a bowl rim with barbotine leaves

Large bowls with heavy, moulded rims bearing rouletted decoration were common during the 2th

century. 615:1, 869:8 and 1014:2 are sherds with a large convex moulding on the outside below the rim and a small ridge below. The moulding has rouletted decoration. On the inside of the wall, there are two grooves below the rim. 199:9 has the same profile but lacks rouletting.



615:1 Rim with rouletted decoration.

194:1, 673:2 and 739:1 belong to a contemporary type of large bowl with a knobbed rim. On the outside below the rim, there is a flat fillet with rouletting. There is a very small offset just at the inner edge of the lip.



194:1 ARS sherd with rouletting on the outside below the rim

1042:1 and 1048:1 are sherds from bowls with straight walls. The inner edge of the lip bears a small offset and the rim is slightly knobbed. On the outside beneath the rim, there is a convex moulding with rouletting. This form may be a variant of the two above-mentioned, 2nd-century bowls.

Bowls with curved bodies and plain, vertical rims were common during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. On the outside of the wall below the rim, there is rouletted decoration framed by two grooves (199:1 and 260:2). From the same period, there is a small bowl with an

incurving wall and a small flange on the outside of the rim. 746:20 is a casserole sherd with a slight roll on the inside of the rim. The dish fragment 1016:1 has a plain, almost vertical rim, a curved wall and a wide, flat base. On the inside, there is a groove below the rim.

Jugs and flasks were frequent during the first half of the 3rd century. 138:4, 487:3 and 778:1 are rim and neck fragments of such vessels.



487:3 Rim and neck fragment from a jug or flask

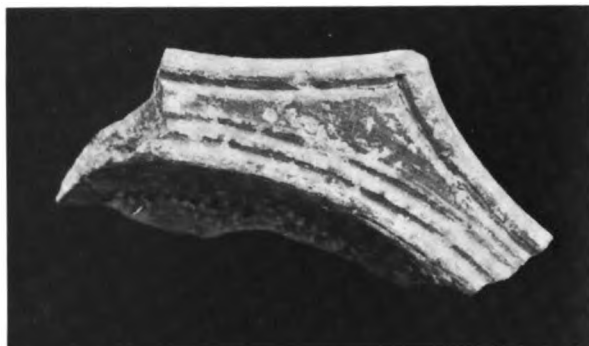
There was a strong influence from metalware decoration in the 4th and 5th centuries. 994:1 may belong to a flat, 4th-century dish with a broad, flat rim. On the outside of the wall, there is vertical gouging, just like the decoration on metal vessels.

From the same period are three rim fragments of flat-based dishes with vertical walls (194:5, 676:1 and 739:8). On the outside below the plain, vertical rim, there are two grooves.

485:6 and 663:7 are sherds from a type of flat bowl common during the early 5th century. The horizontal rim is shaped in two steps, with a tiny groove just inside the outer edge. The rim of 663:7 is slightly hooked downwards. 283:4 and 932:5 have triangular rim profiles. They belong to a very common type of flat-based dish of the 4th and 5th centuries.

Dating from a little later – 5th or 6th century – is a large, shallow dish with heavy, knobbed rim and grooves on the inside below the rim (771:1, 771:2 and 811:1). 530:2 and 811:6 belong to the same form but lack the grooves.

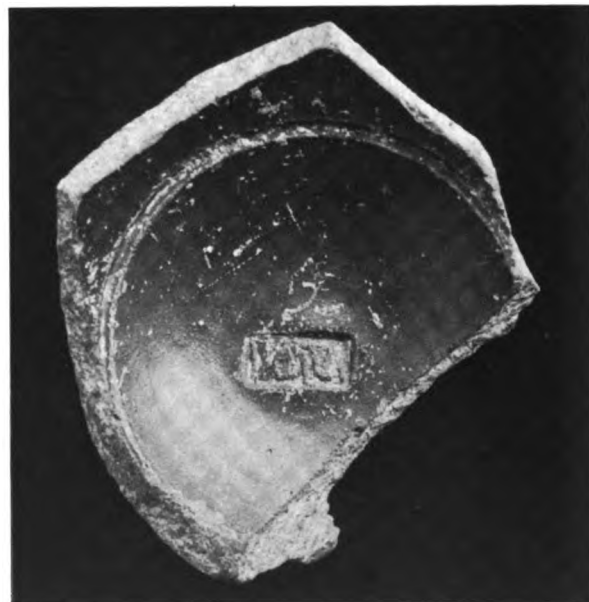
From the first half of the 6th century, we have fragments of a type of bowl with a horizontal, scalloped rim. The edge is shaped into 8 or 10 scallops. On the



1162:1 Fragment of scalloped rim of an ARS bowl

rim, there are grooves which follow both the scalloping and the inner edge (126:1, 530:1, 560:2 and 1162:1).

829:1 is a sherd from a large, contemporary bowl with a hooked rim and rouletting below the rim. 485:9 and 1321:2 are of a type of small bowl with an incurved



1321:2 Inside of small bowl with potter's stamp

wall and a small, thickened rim slightly outcurved. 1321:2 bears a potter's stamp in the centre of the floor.

A very late type of shallow dish bears a pattern of burnished lines on the inside and a groove just below the rim (865:9). It is to be dated in the 6th or 7th century.

Some unprofiled, decorated floor and wall fragments of ARS were found. Stamped palm branches and con-

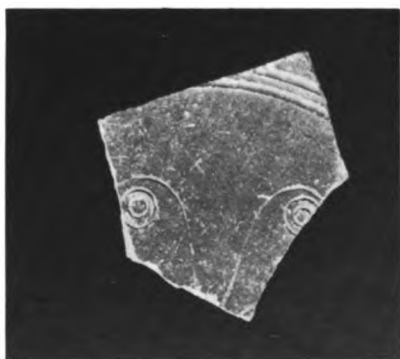
centric circles are frequent on 2nd- to 5th-century floors, as well as rouletting on both the outsides and the insides of walls.

1092:1 is a floor fragment with a stamped palm branch in the centre, surrounded by two grooves shaping a tondo. Outside the grooves, there are three con-



1092:1 Stamped ARS floor sherd with palm branch, grooves and concentric circles

centric circles. 553:1 has concentric circles surrounded by grooves on the flat floor. Palm branches radiate from the centre, surrounded by grooves on the floors of 485:1 and 560:1. Concentric circles are placed in big rosette petals in the centre of the floor of 532:3. The



532:3 Concentric circles within rosette petals on an ARS floor sherd

pattern is surrounded by grooves.

Overlapping strokes of rouletting, "feather rouletting", is common from the late 4th century to the early 6th century (487:2, 531:2, 542:1, 620:1, 829:1 and

1269:1). Single bands of rouletting on the outside of the wall below the rim are to be found on 194:1, 199:2 and 260:2.



487:2 Feather rouletting on an ARS sherd

Stamps of small animals and human beings became frequent during the 5th century. 138:1 is a wall fragment with two lines of rouletting and part of a stamped figure, probably an animal. It may be interpreted as a bird's tail.



138:1 Stamped decoration of a bird's tail on an ARS sherd

One ARS sherd (558:1) has a palm branch in relief on the outside of the wall just below the rim. It is to be dated in the 3rd century.

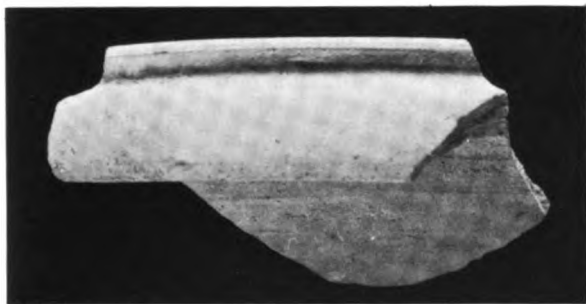
Alongside the ARS, kitchen pottery of the same ware but unslipped was produced during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It is called African Black Top ware, as

the rims of the vessels are often fired black. Fragments of casseroles, large jars and lids are included in the Black Top material.

975:4 and 560:11 belong to a common type of casserole. The rim is convex and has a small offset to hold a lid. The inside of the wall has horizontal grooves. 746:20 has a convex moulding on the inside of the vertical rim, 126:6 has an outturned rim and 352:8 has a small offset on the inside of the rim to hold a lid. Lid fragment 269:3 actually fits this casserole.

Other unslipped lids are 205:4, 205:9, 772:2, 773:1, 773:5, 774:5 and 908:7.

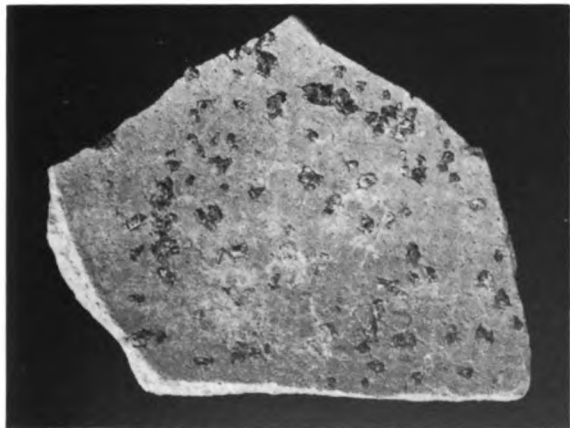
Flanged bowls occur both in the ARS and in the unslipped versions. The flange is mostly hooked downwards on the outside, just below the rim (53:1, 488:1, 744:7, 774:3, 778:24, 801:2, 906:3 and 934:3).



488:1 Rim fragment of a flanged bowl

Two fitting, floor sherds of mortaria (664:1 and 715:1) have pinkish clay. In the floor are set brownish-black grits within a circular groove.

The late cooking wares of the 5th century and later



664:1 and 715:1 Fitting fragments of a mortarium

are well represented as well as the plain buff and orange wares.

13 is a completely preserved, terracotta object, flat on one side and depressed in the centre of the other. It might have been used as a lid.

The function of another terracotta object, 828:1, is difficult to determine. It seems to be a pottery sherd sawed in angular shapes and with incisions following the same directions as the sawed edges.

Very few painted sherds were found. 414:1 and 674:1 may belong to the Late Roman Painted ware.



674:1 Painted sherd, probably of the Late Roman Painted ware



354 Amphora handle with stamped caduceus

The vast majority of the pottery items found are unprofiled sherds very difficult to classify. Among the many amphora fragments may be mentioned a handle with a stamped caduceus. It may belong to a Rhodian transport amphora, (354).

866:1 and 959:1 are two similar lids of brownish-pink clay with knob handles. They are pierced with three holes each. A fragment of very coarse, greyish-brown ware bears traces of fire (594). It may have been part of a cooking vessel or a cooking-stand. 538 is a small fragment of a strainer.



959:1 Coarse lid pierced with three holes

Some buff or yellowish sherds with combed decoration (22:2) may have belonged to large basins of the 7th century. Many ribbed, body sherds (478:2) are typical of 5th-century cooking pots.



22:2 Fragment of a vessel with combed decoration

Site B

Field Report

Birgitta Sander & Cathrine Gerner

A sondage was also made in the central part of the Swedish site B, situated on the eastern slope of Byrsa Hill. According to the grid system of Roman streets, the site is situated between *cardo V E*–*cardo VI E* and *decumanus maximus*–*decumanus I S*.

Site B measures about 40×20 m. The northern and eastern boundaries are modern walls, the southern boundary is a fenced area with ancient walls ("Chapelle chrétienne") and the western boundary, below the Hotel Reine Didon, is the end of Rue Cérés.

As the site is situated on the slope, only the southern and western parts are fairly flat. The whole area is overgrown with grass and weeds.

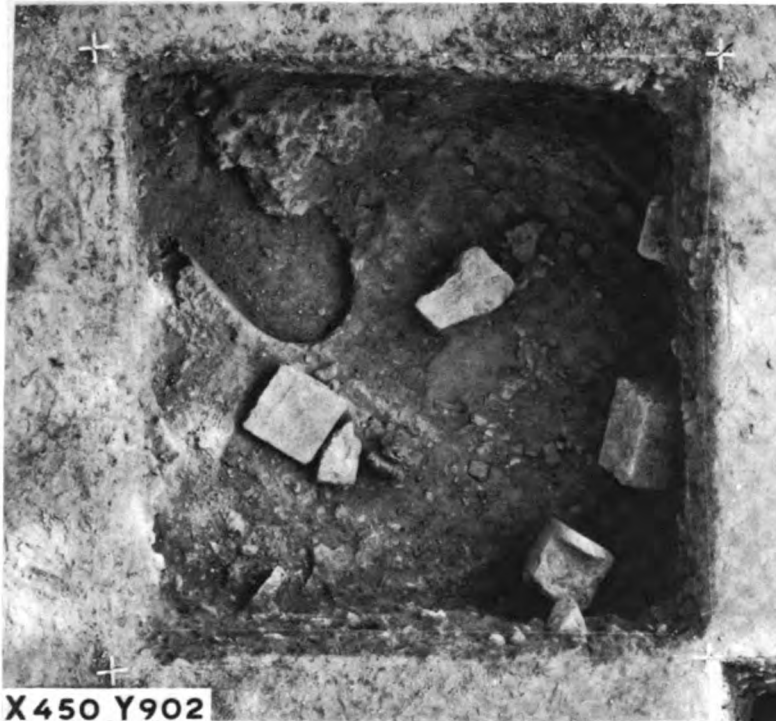
Two 4×4 m squares were opened up in the same grid system and chess-board pattern as at site A.

Under a c. 0.1-m-thick, surface layer of turf (layer 1), a stirred layer appeared (layer 2). It consisted mainly of sandy soil with scattered stones of different sizes (0.05–0.4 m) intermingled with ancient finds (see the Find Report). Layer 2 was predominant in both squares and only small distinctions could be seen.

As this excavation was meant to be a sondage, all work stopped at an approximate depth of 1–1.5 m below the surface. When layer 2 was examined and removed, architectural elements could be seen, such as parts of walls, floors and cisterns.

Architectural elements, square 450 902

In the north-western corner is a rather large structure which projects from the northern balk. There are no clear limits or directions for this structure, which is approximately 1 m wide and semi-circular in shape. The upper level is 37.55. The material is in unworked sandstone. The mortar is light grey and is mixed with lots of charcoal and pieces of lime. It is porous and easy to break. To the south, there is a mark which may be the negative print of a corner of a square block which has been removed. The lower limit was not excavated. A part of this structure leans over an oval construction which is well known in shape and size from other excavations in the area as a Punic cistern. The width is 0.98 m, but the length is unknown, as it



X450 Y902



X446 Y906

Site B, Photo of squares 446 906 and 450 902, from tripod.
(B. Sander)

goes into the western balk of the square. The visible length is 1.6 m. The depth was not excavated. Presumably it is built of unworked stones – mostly sandstone – plastered on the inner side with a layer of fine, light-grey plaster. The direction is NW–SE.

In the north-eastern corner of the square, a small part of a floor was recovered at level 37.04. The surface is roughly plastered upon a filling of earth with pebbles, mixed with charcoal. This filling lies directly upon another floor at level 36.96. This is plastered with two layers of almost white plaster – the upper very thin. Though only a very small part is visible (max. 0.2×0.8 m), the floor seems not to be horizontal but to incline towards the north-west. The built-up layer consists of pebbles cemented in the white lime paste – more pebbles than paste. The floor is delimited to the south by traces of a foundation structure. This is indicated by one stone *in situ* creating a floor-wall corner, which is plastered. Close to the centre of the square, 0.2 m^2 of a floor or pavement was recovered. It consists of stamped grey earth with charcoal and lime.

In the south-western quarter of the square is the upper, square part of a limestone capital block ($0.1 \times 0.56 \times 0.56$ m). The column underneath is just visible. The capital and the column are cut in one piece.

East of this is a worked and plastered block of sandstone. Just under this, to the E–SE, there is an approximately 0.8 m high wall structure. The excavation is not finished. Three nicely worked squared blocks are visible; they are laid in earth. This wall ends with a Hamilcar sandstone in the upright position. As it corresponds to another Hamilcar sandstone in the south-eastern quarter of the square, there is a big piece of worked sandstone in the upright position ($0.5 \times 0.5 \times 0.6$ m with an appendix 0.16×0.09 m). The surface is scratched to hold plaster, of which none is left. Close to this, in the eastern corner, is a wall with three courses of stone visible, mostly roughly worked sandstone, laid without mortar.

Architectural elements, square 446 906

This square is dominated by a wall running from the north-western corner to the southern end of the eastern balk (continuation of wall in square 450 902 ?). The wall consists of two different structures. The northern end, approximately 1.2×0.8 m, consists of a (Punic) sandstone block and small, unworked limestones, all covered with very soft and yellow mortar. The other part of this wall is made of unworked lime- and sandstones

($0.1\text{--}0.2$ m) laid in yellow sand mortar with charcoal. The length is 2.85 m, the width 0.55 m and the excavated height 0.45 m. Approximately 2 m of the southern side of this wall are missing, because of a parallel cistern underneath it. Either the cistern was built after the wall, which was then destroyed to make room for the cistern, or, more likely, the wall was broken down when the cistern collapsed. The latter theory is indicated by three layers of different plasters in the cistern, which means that it was re-used in different periods. There are two layers of grey plaster and the last is white. The size and shape of the cistern are known from other excavations to be Punic. The width is 0.95 m. The length has not been excavated, but it seems to be broken close to the balks. The visible length is 2.9 m. The depth has not been excavated. The direction is NWW–SEE. At the southern side, approximately 1 m from the western end, there is a plastered curve, at right angles to the cistern, which is part of a channel sloping away from it. The size of the channel is 0.14×0.14 m. Some plaster in the channel close to the edge of the cistern indicates that it might have been closed. This plaster is different from any of the coating plasters.

In the triangle delimited by the cistern and the channel, there is a pavement or floor containing a lot of charcoal.

North of the wall crossing the square and parallel to it, 0.65 m away, there is the top of a wall fragment which is 0.35 m broad. A few, unworked limestones laid in yellowish mortar with sand and charcoal are visible. The depth has not been excavated.

Find report

Bengt Peterson & Beate George

In this survey of the finds no consideration is given to the relation to the layer sequence. The character of the finds is similar to that of site A. The finds are with some few exceptions mainly from the period 300–700 AD.

Metals

Some 15 small and unimportant fragments of bronze and iron, and also pieces of slag are recorded. Among them are one bronze nail (B 143) and one iron nail (B 317).

Coins

Thirty-five coins of copper or bronze were found. They are all corroded and there are only two which can be easily dated in the 7th century AD (B 73, B 288). All of them have been brought to Stockholm for conservation.

Glass

Small fragments of thin-walled glass vessels were abundant in the area. Among the larger is the base fragment of a cup (B 218). Mention may also be made of a pierced pearl (B 158) and a fragment of a stick (B 43).



B 218

Bone artefacts

Of the three items recorded, only an almost complete hair-pin is interesting (B 155). It is round and 9.5 cm long and has a round head decorated with criss-cross incisions.



B 155

Ceramics

Vaulting tubes. Only small fragments were found. Hitherto, only a small amount, c. 1½ kg of sherds, indicates the presence of vaulted constructions on the site.

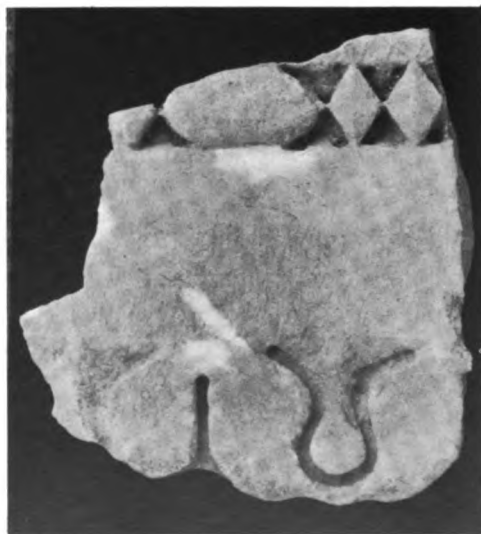
Lamps. 34 small fragments were found. The picture is very much the same as on site A: the Christian types are predominant as far as the parts of rims and handles show. Some Roman fragments also turned up. The vine leaf on a nice rim fragment (B 275) may belong to many different types; it occurs on Deneauve's types VII B, D, VIII B, C and even X B.

Miscellaneous objects. The large group of rounded flat reused pottery pieces of Site A is here represented by 13 items. Here also, they are in most cases made from re-used fragments of pottery vessels. They have diameters between 2.5 and 5.0 cm (with the exception of one which measures 9.1 cm), an average thickness of about 1 cm and a normal weight of between 4 and 25.

Besides these pieces, a fragment of a spindle whorl is the only ceramic find in this group (B 276).

Stone

Architectural marble fragments. Of altogether some 50 stone fragments, half are clearly architectural marble fragments. Among them are remains of large capitals of Roman-Corinthian type (B 197 ?, B 254), large column bases (B 313, B 314) and a fragment of a small column (B 32 ?). The decorated, architectural fragments, architraves, edges, etc. are often of fine work (B 16, B



B 82

30, B 53, B 82, B 196, B 281, B 318, B 319). Among other details are fragments of large grilles of limestone which may have been used for gully holes (B 47, B 124, B 255, B 256). Further finds are plaques, presumably from inlays in walls or pavements, e.g. triangular (B 16, B 32, B 87), and various polished fragments.



B 184

Special objects. Among the stone fragments, there are two small parts, one of marble and the other of limestone, of Punic stelae. Both of them display the characteristic moon sickle (B 184, B 227). The group of



B 227

miscellaneous stone objects also includes a loom weight (B 90) and a group of small artefacts which may be weights (B 192, B 210). One large object (B 312) may be the corner of a marble sarcophagus.

There are four inscribed fragments, three of which have two or three letters only, seemingly of Latin inscriptions (B 1, B 67, B 265). The fourth, however, is a Greek inscription, one line of 16 letters containing, *inter alia*, the name *P. Aurelius* (B 71).



B 71

Mosaics and tesserae

Hundreds of loose tesserae appeared, mainly of marble in different colours, but also of glass and terracotta. Small mosaic fragments of the *opus tessellatum* were also found and furthermore one example of a chip pavement (B 220) and two of *opus signinum* (B 211, B 225). Many of the stray stone tesserae are bigger (c. $2.5 \times 2.5 \times 3$ cm) than those found in bedding mortar (c. $1 \times 1 \times 1$ cm).

Painted plaster

Seventy-six small fragments are recorded, showing red, white, black, green or blue paint. The fragments are too small to show any pattern other than straight and curved lines and patches.

Bone

On a superficial analysis of the 30 recorded finds, one can identify remains of sheep or goat, cow and pig.

Pottery Report

Marie-Louise Blennow

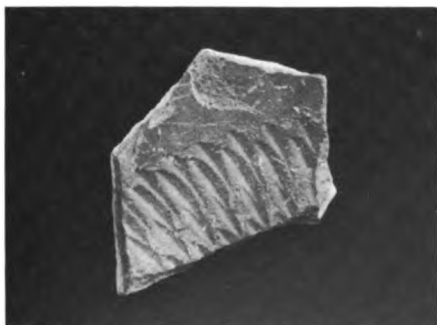
The pottery from site B seems to belong to the same period as the material from site A. The earliest fragments that can be classified are of the Campana ware and the latest are 7th-century, African Red Slip sherds.

Among the Campana ware may be mentioned a fine lid with three grooves around the edge and an offset under the edge to keep the lid in place (B 202:1).



B 202:1 Part of black-glazed lid

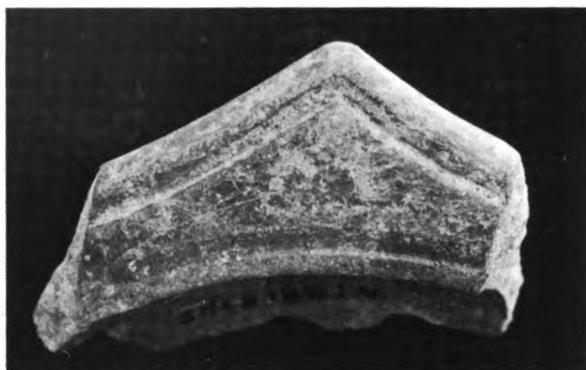
The ARS sherds are of the same vessel forms as those on site A. B 93:3 may be a small 2nd-century bowl with a small, external flange on the rim. Feather rouletting is found on B 283:17. A rim with a vaguely



B 283:17 Feather rouletting from the inside of an ARS vessel

triangular profile and three grooves on the outside (B 5:1) may come from a variant of a common 5th-century dish.

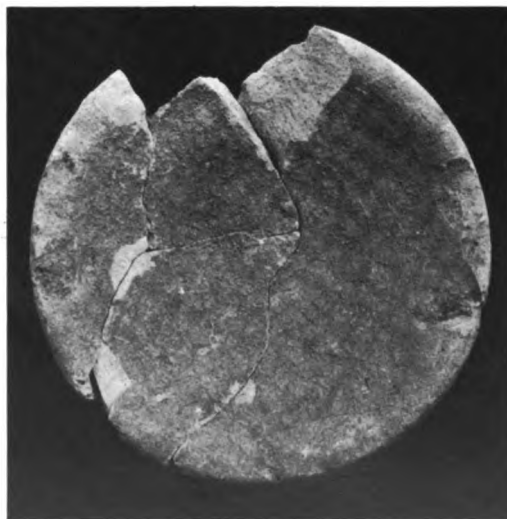
There is one fragment of a bowl with a scalloped rim dated in the early 6th century (B 188:4). From the same



B 188:4 Fragment of bowl with scalloped rim

period is B 129:1, a sherd from a large bowl with a heavy, knobbed, vertical rim bearing a groove on the inside. Further down the inside, there is another groove. One fragment (B 167:4) has burnished lines on the inside and a groove below the plain rim. This variant of the shallow dish was frequent during the 6th and 7th centuries.

A small, unslipped bowl of yellowish clay was almost completely preserved (B 173).



B 173 Almost complete bowl

The Black Top cooking ware is also represented. B 228:5 is a lid fragment. Some almost complete rims of flanged bowls of both pinkish and yellowish type were found (B 121:1).



B 121:1 Well preserved rim of a flanged bowl

B 76 are two fragments of a small pottery vessel with remains of bronze on the inside.

A large number of sherds of the late Roman cooking wares, plain buff and orange wares and amphoras awaits classification.



B 76 Fragments of a pottery vessel with remains of bronze

For all photographs of finds and pottery credit is given to Douglas Kuylensstierna.

Activities 1978–1979

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period July 1st 1978–June 30th 1979 further progress was made in the effort to obtain a new location for the Medelhavsmuseet, the first of which was on January 15th, when the National Board of Public Building submitted the detailed plan of the new museum, including the financial calculations, to the Ministry of Education. After the project had been approved by this ministry it was submitted to the Ministry of Finance.

Among acquisitions to the Egyptian Department there are a couple of outstanding bronzes, i.e. a standing ichneumon. Further some sculptures in small size may be mentioned, a standing king of the Late Period, a relief fragment with the head of the god Khonsu of the New Kingdom. Smaller antiquities are some gold amulets and a fayence bead mummy decoration. Also a wooden folding chair is a valuable complement to the collection of furniture. Moreover a model (at a scale of 1:200) of the pyramid area of Pharaoh Djoser at Sak-kara was acquired in preparation for educational activities in the new museum. It was constructed by Edward Loring, Basel, and was given by the Society of Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet.

Among acquisitions to the Graeco-Roman Department two vases and two sculptures may be mentioned. One vase is an Attic Black-Figure amphora from the 6th Cent. BC with representations of Aeneas on both sides. On one side Aeneas is shown carrying his aged father out of burning Troy. The other vase is an Attic Red-Figure krater from the first half of the 4th Cent. BC with a Dionysiac scene on one side.

Of the sculptures one is a Greek grave relief from the 4th Cent. BC in gray marble with a representation of a seated woman saying farewell to someone, who was originally standing in part of the relief which is now missing. The other sculpture is a Roman marble head

from Palmyra in typical style. It was given by Mr Alvar Lison Almkvist on the 100th anniversary of the return from the Orient of his grand-father, the Uppsala scholar Herman Napoleon Almkvist, who had acquired the head in Palmyra on his travels.

Display activity was concentrated on finishing the new permanent exhibition of the Graeco-Roman Department in the entrance hall of the Museum of National Antiquities. The exhibition contains Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Cypriot and Mesopotamian antiquities. Among groups of objects, which are on permanent display for the first time, the group of terracotta statues from Ajia Irini on Cyprus, excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, may be mentioned. In addition the work to prepare the permanent exhibitions for the new museum continued.

In connection with the Greek cultural month in Stockholm in October 1978 an exhibition of photographs concerning the Greek-Swedish excavations in Chania on Crete was shown. In the head office of Sparbanken Stockholm an exhibition of photographs of Egypt by the author and photographer Kay Honkanen was on display for four months. Objects from the collections of the museum were shown together with both photographic exhibitions.

The travelling exhibition of Cypriot antiquities from the collections of the museum has been shown outside Sweden for the first time. It was exhibited at the Amos Andersons Konstmuseum in Helsinki during the period September 21st–October 29th 1978.

As before, the excavations at Chania on Crete have been administered by the Graeco-Roman Department. During the summer of 1979 the work concentrated on the study of the excavated material.

From the excavations at Asine in the Argolid carried out 1970–1974 under my direction in collaboration with



The display of the group of terracotta statues from Ajia Irini on Cyprus excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition

Mr Sören Dietz of the National Museum of Copenhagen and Dr Robin Hägg, now director of the Swedish Institute in Athens, several publications are now finished. The excavations took place partly east of the Acropolis near the sea, partly on the Barbouna Hill opposite the Acropolis. The material from the main area is published in the series of monographs of the Swedish Institute in Athens, under the title *Asine II* in order to separate these excavations from those in the 1920's, while the Barbouna material is published in the Uppsala series *Boreas*. In the *Asine II* publication the Protogeometric tombs were published in 1976 by Berit Wells and the Early Classical tombs in 1979 by Birgitte Rafn. The Middle Helladic Cemetery and the Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean deposits will be published in the beginning of 1980 by Sören Dietz. In the *Boreas* series two volumes have appeared treating our excavations on the lower slopes of the Barbouna Hill 1970–1972. In the volume published in 1978 the finds from Early Helladic to Hellenistic are treated by Yvonne Backe-Forsberg, John M. Fossey, Barbro

Frizell and Robin Hägg, while the volume on the field-work was published by Inga and Robin Hägg in 1973.

In April 1979 the Medelhavsmuseet started excavations at Carthage as part of the UNESCO programme to save the area. The campaign started on April 23rd and continued until June 21st. Eleven Swedish archaeologists and specialists, one Danish architect and 28 Tunisian workmen took part in the excavation. The Medelhavsmuseet was represented by the author as leader of the project, by Dr Bengt Peterson, Dr Beate George, Mrs Marie-Louise Blennow and by Miss Birgitta Sander as field director of the excavations. The preliminary report of the first campaign is published in a separate article in this Bulletin.

During the year Bulletin 13, 1978 was published. In the Memoir series volume 3 was published. Under the title "Die Karnak-Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836–1837" Dr Beate George and Dr Bengt Peterson publish the results of their studies on an unique group of copies of inscriptions and reliefs in Karnak.

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